Mrs Bere Letter

HISTORIC PROOF

OF THE

DOCTRINAL CALVINISM

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

Including a brief Account of

EMINENT PERSONS,

Before and ſince the REFORMATION;

MORE ESPECIALLY, OF OUR

Engliſh Reformers, Martyrs, Prelates, Univerſities, &c.

With SPECIMENS of their TESTIMONIES.

Alſo a REVIEW of the RISE and PROGRESS

OF

ARMINIANISM in ENGLAND,

Under the Patronage of Archbiſhop LAUD.

By AUGUSTUS TOPLADY, A. B.
Late Vicar of Broad-Hembury, Devonſhire.

A new EDITION, Reviſed and Corrected.

ASK NOW OF THE DAYS THAT ARE PAST. Deut. iv. 32.

"Logical Arguments, and controverſial Reaſoning, cannot be well adapted to "every Underſtanding. But HISTORICAL FACTS, and the Conſe- "quences thence deducible, are, to the meaneſt Underſtanding, plain and "obvious." Bower's Pref. to Hiſt. of the Popes.

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1793.

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INTRO-

☞ *Mr. Toplady's Sermons, Tracts, and other Miſcellaneous Pieces, compriſing a complete Edition of his Works, are Publiſhing in Numbers.*——*A complete Index to the whole will be prefixed to the laſt Volume.*

HISTORIC PROOF

OF THE

DOCTRINAL CALVINISM

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

ADVERTISEMENT.

FOR prevention of miſtake, I requeſt leave to apprize the Reader,

1. *That in the following Eſſay I uſe the words* CALVINISM *and* CALVINISTS *merely in compliance with cuſtom. The doctrinal ſyſtem, eſtabliſhed in* England, *which* LUTHER *and* CALVIN *were the honoured inſtruments of retrieving, ſubſiſted, from the beginning, in the faith of God's elect people, and in the ſacred Scriptures. But,* "Dandum aliquid conſuetudini."

2. *I uſe the terms* PELAGIANISM *and* ARMINIANISM *in their* literal *and* proper *ſignification, as denoting the ſyſtem originally fabricated by* PELAGIUS, *and afterwards rebuilt by* ARMINIUS. *Though, in ſtrictneſs of ſpeech, that ſyſtem ſhould rather be denominated,* MORGANISM *and* VAN HARMINISM; *the real name of* Pelagius *having been* MORGAN, *as that of* Arminius *was* VAN HARMIN.

3. *By the word* METHODISTS, *which likewiſe frequently occurs, I mean the approvers, followers, and abettors of Mr.* JOHN WESLEY's *principles and practices, and them only. If ſome folks, either through want of knowledge, or through want of candour, apply the name of* METHODIST *to ſuch as agree in all points with the Church of* England, *it cannot be helped; nor have I the leaſt objection to being involved under that title, in* this *ſenſe of it: but I myſelf never uſe the term, except in the meaning above defined.*

4. *Mention is often made of the* ANABAPTISTS, *and of their theological enormities. Be it, therefore, obſerved, that the* Anabaptiſts *of the ſixteenth century were a very different ſort of people from the* Baptiſts *of the laſt century, and of the current: conſequently, what is obſerved of the* former, *does by no means affect the* latter.

5. *I foreſee one objection, in particular, to which the enſuing work is liable:* viz. *that the two* PELAGIAN METHODISTS, *namely, Mr.* JOHN WESLEY *and Mr.* WALTER SELLON, *whoſe fraudulent perverſions of truth, facts, and common ſenſe, gave the firſt occaſion to*

the preſent undertaking, " are not perſons of ſufficient conſequence to merit ſo large and explicit a refutation." *I acknowledge the propriety and the force of this remark. It cannot be denied, that the Church of* England *has ſeldom, if ever (at leaſt ſince the Civil Wars), been arraigned, tried, and condemned, by a pair of ſuch inſignificant adverſaries. Yet, though the men themſelves are of no importance, the Church and her doctrine are of much. Which conſideration has weight enough with me, not only to warrant the deſign and extent of the following vindication, but alſo to juſtify any* future *attempts of the ſame kind, which the continued perverſeneſs of the ſaid diſcomfited* METHODISTS *may render needful. I mean, in caſe the united labours of that junto ſhould be able to ſqueeze forth any thing which may carry a face of argument. For, otherwiſe, I have ſome thoughts of conſigning them to the peaceable enjoyment of that contempt and neglect due to their malice and incapacity. Lord* Bolingbroke *ſomewhere obſerves, that* " To have the laſt word is the privilege of bad writers:" *a privilege which I ſhall never envy them.*

Mr. WESLEY *and his ſubalterns are, in general, ſo exceſſively ſcurrilous and abuſive, that contending with them reſembles fighting with chimney-ſweepers, or bathing in a mud-pool. So they can but raiſe a temporary miſt before the eyes of their deluded adherents, they care not what they invent, nor whereof they affirm.*

6. *Let it not, however, be ſuppoſed, that I bear them the leaſt degree of perſonal hatred; God forbid; I have not ſo learned Chriſt. The very men, who have my oppoſition, have my prayers alſo. I dare addreſs the Great Shepherd and Biſhop of Souls in thoſe lines of the late Dr.* Doddridge:

Haſt thou a lamb, in all thy flock,
I would diſdain to feed?

But I likewiſe wiſh ever to add,

Haſt thou a foe, before whoſe face
I fear thy cauſe to plead?

Grace, mercy, and peace, be to all who love, and who deſire to love, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in ſincerity.

INTRO-

INTRODUCTION.

BEFORE I enter on the principal design of the present undertaking, it may be proper to throw together some preliminary observations, by way of Preface, that the main thread of our historic enquiry may, afterwards, proceed the more evenly and uninterruptedly.

In February 1769, I published a pamphlet, entitled, "The Church of England vindicated from the Charge of Arminianism, and the Case of Arminian Subscription particularly considered:" which I addressed to a learned and respectable Oxonian, who had lately presented us with an apology for the Arminian principles; and whose arguments against the real doctrines of our Established Church, my counter vindication was designed to obviate.

That Omniscient Being, to whom "all hearts are open," knows, that a feeling regard to his glory, and a tender solicitude for the honour of truth, were my sole determining motives to that humble attempt. I could sincerely adopt the appeal of archbishop Bradwardin, who wrote on a similar occasion, and in defence of the same doctrines: *Scis, quòd nusquam virtute meâ, sed tuâ, confisus, tantillus aggredior tantam causam* (*a*). Far, exceeding far, from presuming on any imaginary abilities of my own, and equally remote from wishing to distinguish myself on the stage of public observation, I resolved to conceal my name; though I could not resolve, by continuing entirely silent, to forego my allegiance to God, and my duty to the church.

The controversy had, indeed, been recently in the hands of a person, whose zeal for the principles of the Reformation adds dignity to his rank, and lustre to his talents; I mean the able and learned

(*a*) In Pref. ad libros *De Causâ Dei.*

author of *Pietas Oxonienſis:* And I freely confeſs, that I was under ſome doubt, whether it might not carry an implication of ſelf-confidence, ſhould I glean up, and lay before the public, a few of thoſe authentic facts and teſtimonies, the mention of which had, for the moſt part, been omitted by that maſterly writer. Conſidering, however, that of old, even thoſe perſons who had but a mite to throw into the treaſury, were not therefore wholly exempted from the duty of contribution; I fluctuated no longer; but haſtily threw together ſuch obſervations as then occurred, and in a few weeks tranſmitted them to the printer. I have much reaſon to bleſs God for their publication. That tract, hurried and unfiniſhed as it was, met with a reception, which, in ſuch an age as the preſent, I could neither expect nor imagine.

Upwards of two years after, i. e. in the ſummer of 1771, a Mr. Walter Sellon (who ſtands in the ſame relation to Mr. John Weſley, as Celeſtius did to Pelagius, and Bertius to Arminius; viz. of Retainer-general and White-waſher in Ordinary) hands a production into the world, deſigned to prove, that Arminianiſm and the Church of England are as cloſely connected, as the ſaid Meſſieurs Walter and John are with each other. The piece itſelf is the joint-offspring of the two aſſociated heroes. As, therefore, in its fabrication, thoſe gentlemen were united, even ſo, in its confutation, they ſhall not be parted.

Arminianiſm is their mutual Dulcinea del Toboſo. And, contrary to what is uſually obſerved among co-inamoratos, their attention to the ſame favourite object creates no jealouſy, no uneaſineſs of rivalſhip, between themſelves. High mounted on Pine's Roſinante, forth ſallies Mr. John from Wine-ſtreet, Briſtol, brandiſhing his reed, and vowing vengeance againſt all who will not fall down and

worſhip

worſhip the (*b*) Dutch image which he has ſet up. With almoſt an equal plenitude of zeal and proweſs, forth trots Mr. Walter from Ave-mary-lane, low mounted on Cabe's halting dapple. The knight and the ſquire having met at the rendezvous appointed, the former prances foremoſt, and, with as much haſte as his limping ſteed will permit, doth truſty Walter amble after his maſter.

How ſucceſsful theſe combatants are, in their attack on my firſt defence of the Doctrinal Calviniſm of the Church of England, I cheerfully leave to the deciſion of the Public. This, however, I may venture to ſay, that, after a tedious incubation of ſix-and-twenty months, they ought to have hatched an anſwer that might carry ſome ſhew, at leaſt, of plauſible argument. But even Craft itſelf ſeems, in the main, to have diſcharged them from her ſervice. Here is neither ſubtilty, nor ſolidity. I am, in fact, going to encounter a phantom. No laurels, therefore, will crown the conqueſt; and the poor phantom ſhould, for me, have ſtalked unmoleſted, had not the importance of the ſubject retrieved, in ſome meaſure, the inſignificancy of the performance.

One of them (for it is not always eaſy to diſtinguiſh the immediate ſpeaker) charges me with "crying up the abilities of ſome againſt whom I have written, only that I myſelf may appear to have greater abilities of my own, in vanquiſhing ſuch able antagoniſts." Malice has here forged an accuſation, too ignoble even for malice to believe. The brace of brothers are, indeed, either too blind to ſee, or too diſingenuous to acknowledge, the excellencies of any from whom they diſſent; elſe they would never have termed thoſe great reformers, Luther and Calvin, a pair of "weathercocks (*c*);" nor

(*b*) Pelagianiſm was revived in Holland, under the new name of Arminianiſm, toward the beginning of the laſt century.

(*c*) Page 11.

have contemptuouſly ſtiled St. Auſtin the "giddy apoſtle of the Calviniſts (*d*)." For my own part, I acknowledge, with pleaſure, the eminent talents of very many worthy perſons, from whom I differ extremely in opinion. Mr. Sellon, however, may make himſelf eaſy as to this particular. Unleſs he ſhould improve miraculouſly, I ſhall never cry up his abilities. I muſt want common ſenſe, to ſuppoſe him a man of parts; and I muſt want common modeſty, to repreſent him as ſuch. I can diſtinguiſh a barber's baſon from an helmet; of courſe, all the fruit to be reaped from the conteſt now depending, is, not an ovation for myſelf, but the acquiſition of a tributary pepper-corn to the doctrines of the Church.

Mr. Weſley ſhould have lain the burden of his alliance on other ſhoulders than thoſe of Mr. Sellon. The lot could not poſſibly have fallen on a more incompetent man. He is much too unknowing, and too hot, to come off, with any degree of credit, in an engagement which has foiled ſo many of the wiſe and prudent. He ſhould have remembered the example of Dr. Waterland and others.

As the Church is now internally conſtituted, her Calviniſm is impregnable; while ſhe lives, this is immortal. The legiſlature have it, indeed, in their power (God forbid they ſhould ever have the inclination), to melt down her Liturgy, Homilies, and Articles; and, when her component particles are ſevered by ſtate chymiſtry, to caſt her into the Arminian mold: but, until this is really done, all the artifice of man will never be able to fix the banner of Arminius in the citadel, how daringly ſoever ſome of his diſciples may diſplay it on the walls. Our pulpits may declare for free-will; but the deſk, our prayers, and the whole of our ſtandard writings as a Church, breathe only the doctrines of grace.

(*d*) Page 7.

Several

Several reſpectable men have reduced themſelves to a ſtate of pitiable embarraſſment, in attempting to diſprove this, during and ſince, what has been properly enough denominated, the eccleſiaſtical reign of archbiſhop Laud. Had that prelate been a Calviniſt, and had the Calviniſts of that age joined hands with the enemies to civil and religious liberty, the Calviniſm of the Church of England would, probably, have paſſed unconteſted to the preſent hour: but that prelate attached himſelf to the new ſyſtem (and it was then very new indeed) of Arminius; and, which weighed ſtill more againſt them in the Court balance, the Calviniſts were friends to the civil rights of mankind; they (obſerve, I ſpeak only of the doctrinal, not of the diſciplinarian Calviniſts) were ſteady to the true religious and political conſtitution of their country. They oppoſed, with equal firmneſs, Laud's innovations in the Church, and Charles's invaſions of civil freedom. Unhappily both for the nation and the Church, and no leſs fatally for himſelf, Charles, nurtured in deſpotiſm, deemed it his intereſt to ſupport the Arminians, for purpoſes of ſtate. I ſhall have occaſion, in the progreſs of the enſuing Eſſay, to trace this evil to its ſource. In the mean while, I return to Mr. Weſley and his underſtrapper; whom though I ſhall not conſtantly perſiſt to mention together, but hold them up to view, ſometimes ſingly, ſometimes conjointly, as juſt occaſion may require; the intelligent reader will not fail to notice, that every exhibition of Mr. John involves his man Walter; and that Walter cannot be exhibited without involving Mr. John.

Monſieur Bayle has an obſervation, perfectly applicable to the two furioſos above-mentioned; had the cap been made for them, it could not have fitted them more exactly. "In hot conſtitutions," ſays that able critic, "zeal is a ſort of drunkenneſs, which ſo diſorders the mind, that a man ſees every thing

thing double and the wrong way. The Prieſteſs of Bacchus, who fell upon her own ſon, whom ſhe miſtook for a wild boar, is an image of that giddineſs which ſeizes the zealots (*e*)." I am very far from peremptorily affirming, that Mr. Sellon is as intimately connected with Bacchus, as was the above Prieſteſs; but his conduct certainly bears a ſtrong reſemblance of hers. He pretends, that the Church of England is his mother; now, his ſuppoſed mother is an avowed, thorough-paced Calviniſt: but Mr. Sellon abominates Calviniſm, and yet wiſhes to be thought a churchman. What can he do, in ſo diſtreſsful a dilemma? Neceſſity dictates an expedient. Amidſt ſome qualifying profeſſions of filial reſpect, this petty Nimrod bends his twelve-penny bow againſt her he calls his mother; and pretends, all the while, that he is only combating a wild beaſt, which has chanced to find its way from Geneva to England.

But the Church, and the truths of God, have nothing to fear from the efforts of this jaculator. Parthians might aim their arrows at the ſun; wolves may exhauſt their ſtrength, by howling at the moon; yet, neither the weapons of thoſe could wound the one, nor can the clamour of theſe ſo much as alarm the other. The ſun perſiſts to ſhine, and the moon to roll, unextinguiſhed and unimpeded by the impotence of rage, and the emptineſs of menace from below.

I have heard, or read, of a picture, which exhibited a view of the apoſtate angels, juſt fallen from their ſtate of bleſſedneſs. Every attitude and feature were expreſſive of the extremeſt horror, indignation, and deſpair. An artiſt, into whoſe poſſeſſion it came, by only a few touches with his pencil, transformed the ſhocking repreſentation into a maſter-piece of lovelineſs and beauty; ſo that ſe-

(*e*) Hiſt. Dict. vol. 3. p. 538. Art. Hunnius.

raphs

raphs ſeemed to ſmile and ſing, where tormented fiends appeared before, to blaſpheme for rage, and to gnaw their tongues for pain. Mr. Sellon has purſued a plan directly contrary to that of the amiable artiſt. The Methodiſt's grand buſineſs (in which, however, he utterly fails) is, to deform the goſpel picture, and to diſfigure the beauty of the Church. He labours to metamorphoſe, if it were poſſible, the wiſdom and glory of God into a caricature equally frightful and ridiculous: but all his cavils are *infra jugulum*; they come not up to the point. Mr. Weſley and his auxiliaries reſemble the army of Mithridates, who loſt the day, by miſtakenly aiming their arrows, not at the perſons, but at the ſhadows, of the Roman ſoldiers.

Suppoſing the principles of the Church of England to be ever ſo exceptionable in themſelves, the mode of aſſault, adopted by the mock vindicators, is by no means calculated to gain its end. The far greater part of mankind can readily diſtinguiſh fury from zeal, and abuſe from argument. A writer, like Mr. Sellon, who dips his pen in the common-ſewer, injures and diſgraces the cauſe he ſeeks to advance. "The wrath of man worketh not the righteouſneſs of God." It is ſo far from being a part, that it is the very reverſe, of that righteouſneſs which the example of God preſcribes, and his written will enjoins.

I am charged with violating the meekneſs I recommend, and with being no leſs than "a perſecutor" of the Arminians (*f*). Aggreſſors are often the firſt to complain. When Mr. Weſley thinks proper to ſcatter his firebrands, "zeal for the Lord of hoſts," and "earneſt contention for the faith delivered to the ſaints," are the varniſh which his abuſive rage aſſumes: but if no more than a finger be lifted up in ſelf-defence, the cry is, "Oh, you are

(*f*) Page 32.

without

without goſpel love; you are a perſecutor of Mr. John; you will not let the good old man deſcend quietly to his grave."

As to intolerancy and perſecution, I have already declared this to be my ſtedfaſt opinion, that "the rights of conſcience are inviolably ſacred, and that liberty of private judgment is every man's birthright:" yet Mr. Weſley cannot fully avail himſelf of this conceſſion; for, by having ſolemnly ſet his hand to the Articles, Homilies, and Liturgy of the Eſtabliſhed Church, he comes within the exception immediately added, and which I here repeat: "If, however, any like Eſau have ſold their birthright, by ſubſcribing to Articles they do not believe, merely for the ſake of temporal profit or aggrandizement, they have only themſelves to thank, for the little ceremony they are entitled to (*g*)."

It is not neceſſary to be timid in order to be meek. There is a falſe meekneſs, as well as a falſe charity. Genuine charity, according to the Apoſtle's deſcription of it, rejoiceth in the truth. The conduct of our Lord himſelf, and of the firſt diſciples, on various occaſions, demonſtrated, that it is no part of chriſtian candour, to hew millſtones with a feather. Rebuke them ſharply (ἀποτόμως, cuttingly), ſays the Apoſtle, concerning the depravers of doctrinal chriſtianity; wiſh well to their perſons, but give no quarter to their errors. The world have long ſeen, that unmixed politeneſs, condeſcending generoſity, and the moſt conciliating benevolence, can no more ſoften Mr. Weſley's rugged rudeneſs, than the melody of David's harp could lay the North wind, or ſtill the raging of the ſea. Mr. Hervey, in his famous Eleven Letters, has handled Mr. Weſley with all the delicacy and tenderneſs that a virtuoſo would ſhew in catching a butterfly, whoſe plumage he wiſhes to preſerve uninjured;

(*g*) See my Caveat againſt Unſound Doctrines, p. 17.

or

or a lady, in wiping a piece of china, which ſhe dreads to break. Did Mr. Weſley profit by the engaging meekneſs of his amiable and elegant refuter? nay, but he waxed worſe and worſe; like Saul, he ſtrove to ſtab the name of that ineſtimable friend, whoſe goſpel muſic was calculated to diſpoſſeſs him of his evil ſpirit. Like the animal, ſtigmatized in the lviiith Pſalm, he ſtopped his ears, and refuſed to hear the voice of the charmer, though the ſtrains were no leſs ſweet than wiſe. Every artifice that could be invented has been thrown out, to blacken the memory of the moſt exemplary man this age has produced. Mr. Weſley inſulted him, when living, and continues to trample on him, though dead. He digs him, as it were, out of his grave, paſſes ſentence on him as an heretic, ties him to the ſtake, burns him to aſhes, and ſcatters thoſe aſhes to the four winds. Rather than fail, the wretched Mr. Walter Sellon is ſtilted to oppoſe the excellent Mr. Hervey; and moſt egregiouſly hath the living ſinner acquitted himſelf againſt the long-departed ſaint! In much the ſame ſpirit, and with juſt the ſame ſucceſs, as the enemy of mankind contended with Michael the arch-angel, about the body of Moſes.

Every Reader may not, perhaps, know the true cauſe (at leaſt, one of the principal cauſes) of Mr. Weſley's unrelenting enmity to Mr. Hervey; an enmity, which even the death of the latter has not yet extinguiſhed. When that valuable man was writing his Theron and Aſpaſio, his humility and ſelf-diffidence were ſo great, that he condeſcended to ſolicit many of his friends to reviſe and correct that admirable work, antecedently to its publication. He occaſionally requeſted this favour even of ſome who were enemies to ſeveral of the doctrines aſſerted in the Dialogues; among whom was Mr. John Weſley. The author imagined, that the unſparing criticiſm of an adverſary might obſerve defects,

fects, and ſuggeſt ſome uſeful hints, which the tenderneſs and partiality of friendſhip might overlook, or ſcruple to communicate. Several ſheets having been tranſmitted to Mr. John (an honour of which he ſoon ſhewed himſelf quite unworthy), he altered, added, and retrenched, with ſuch inſolence and wantonneſs of dictatorial authority, as diſguſted even the modeſt and candid Mr. Hervey. The conſequence was, Mr. Weſley loſt his ſuperviſorſhip, and in return, ſat himſelf to depreciate the performance he was not allowed to ſpoil.

By what ſpirit this gentleman and his deputies are guided, in their diſcuſſion of controverted ſubjects, ſhall appear, from a ſpecimen of the horrible aſperſions which, in "The Church vindicated from Predeſtination," they venture to heap on the Almighty himſelf. The recital makes me tremble; the peruſal muſt ſhock every Reader, who is not ſteeled to all reverence for the Supreme Being. May the review cauſe the daring and unhappy writers to fall down, as in the duſt, at the footſtool of inſulted Deity! Weſley and Sellon are not afraid to declare, that, on the hypotheſis of divine decrees, the juſtice of God is "no better than the tyranny of Tiberius (*b*)." That God himſelf is "little better than Moloch (*i*)."---"A cruel, unwiſe, unjuſt, arbitrary, and ſelf-willed tyrant (*k*)."---"A being void of wiſdom, juſtice, mercy, holineſs, and truth (*l*)."---A devil, yea, worſe than the devil (*m*)." Did the exorbitancies of the ancient ranters, or the impieties of any modern blaſphemers, ever come up to this? Surely, if ſuch Methodiſts ſhould finally be converted and ſaved, we can need no ſtronger proof that grace is infinitely free, and its operation abſolutely invincible! Obſerve, Reader, that theſe are alſo the very men who are ſo abandoned to all ſenſe of ſhame, as to charge me with blaſphemy,

(*b*) Page 3. (*i*) Page 45. (*k*) Page 59. 71.
(*l*) Page 74. (*m*) Page 107.

for

for aſſerting, with Scripture, that God worketh all things according to the counſel of his own will; and that whatever God wills, is right.

We have ſeen their portrait of the great and bleſſed God: let us, next, hear Mr. Sellon's account of his own ſelf; this he has tacked to the fag-end of his work. Be it my humble office, to reſcue ſo brilliant a paſſage from the ignominy of its preſent ſituation, and place it (where it deſerves to ſtand) in the front.

"As to myſelf," ſays the Arminian, "I make no ſcruple to tell you, I am what ſome call an exotic; one (*n*) deſtitute of the honour of an academical education. The higheſt degree I lay claim to, is that of a poor fellow of Jeſus College, in the Univerſity of Chriſtianity (*o*)."

Never, ſurely, till now, did ſuch low, whining cant ooze from the pen of meanneſs!

And is the pretended vindicator of a national Church dwindled, by his own confeſſion, into an exotic? That his doctrines are exotic, or foreign and far-fetched, I always knew; but I was, hitherto, not botaniſt enough to aſcertain the exoticiſm of the man. I hope, in his next vindication, he will inform us, to what claſs of exotic plants he belongs, and whether himſelf be not as Dutch as his principles.

He adds, that he never had an "academical education;" I believe him; nor is he in any danger of being miſtaken for a man of learning. He will never frighten his brother enthuſiaſts with that horrible bugbear (ſo alarming to moſt fanatics)

(*n*) And true enough it is. Mr. Sellon is, in very deed, deſtitute of the ſaid honour. His education was as illiberal as are his principles: he was, at his firſt ſetting out in life, a low mechanic; he then got himſelf enrolled on the liſt of Mr. Weſley's lay-preachers; he next inſinuated himſelf into the favour of a certain perſon of diſtinction, who (not being endued with the gift of foreſight) procured him admiſſion into Holy Orders: and thus he came to wear prunella. (*o*) Page 126.

called

called human literature. He does not ſo much as know the difference between a degree and a fellowſhip: "The higheſt degree I lay claim to," ſays this pigmy on ſtilts, "is that of a poor fellow, &c." You ſhould have ſaid, of the Foundery College, in Moorfields, whereof Mr. John Weſley is preſident, and wherein Thomas Olivers the preaching ſhoemender hath taken his degree in ignorance: that, Mr. Sellon, is the college to which you belong: for into what you cantingly ſtyle the "Univerſity of Chriſtianity," it does not appear that you are ſo much as entered. In proof of this, I appeal to your preceptor, Mr. Weſley himſelf; and to your fellow-pupils, his followers. Your own Arminian friends, for whom you falſify through thick and thin, will not acknowledge you for a believer (*p*). However, as you ſeem to inſiſt on paſſing for "a poor fellow," I ſhall, in the following ſheets, attentively conſider what the poor fellow has to ſay againſt the doctrines of the Church of England.

One who has drawn ſo blaſphemous a character of God, and who has, moreover, given the public ſo contemptible a ſketch of himſelf, can hardly be thought likely to draw a very favourable account of his opponents. His repreſentation of me, in particular, is ſo very curious, and compoſed of ſuch contradictory ingredients, that I muſt, for the Reader's amuſement, ſubmit it to his view. I had before been delineated, by an Arminian helpmeet of Mr. Weſley's, as "ſitting in my eaſy chair, and enjoying all the comforts of life." One would think, that the ſee of Durham had been transferred to Broad Hembury, and that the Devonſhire Vicar was warmly enrobed in lawn and black ſatin. So much for my attitude and enjoyments; next for my titles; theſe Mr. Sellon enumerates. I am, it ſeems,

(*p*) See the Goſpel Magazine, for March, 1771, p. 135.

"A Flaming

" A Flaming Calviniſt (*q*).
" A Dragon (*r*).
" An Hooter (*s*).
" A Venomous Slanderer (*t*).
" A Perſecutor, poſſeſſing the ſame butcherly ſpirit that was in biſhop Gardiner; yea, ten times more (*u*).
" A Perfectioniſt (*x*).
" A malapert Boy, ſeverely ſcratching and clawing with venomous nails (*y*).
" A Papiſt (*z*).
" A Socinian (*a*)
" A Mahometan (*b*).
" The greateſt Bigot that ever exiſted, without one grain of candour, benevolence, forbearance, moderation, good-will, or charity (*c*).
" A wild Beaſt of impatience and lion-like fury (*d*).
" A Materialiſt (*e*);" that is, an Atheiſt.

A goodly ſtring of appellations! and not a little extraordinary, that they ſhould all centre in one and the ſame man! Being ſo uncommon a perſon myſelf, my writings too muſt be ſomething ſingular. Take a deſcription of them in the words of the ſaid Sellon: " I find ſophiſtry, fallacy, falſe inſinuations, raillery, perverſion of Scripture and the Church Articles, ſelf-contradiction, ſelf-ſufficiency, haughtineſs, pride and vanity, glaring in almoſt every page (*f*)."

Thus, enthroned in my eaſy chair, dignified with titles, and accurately developed as a writer, I only want a ſuitable addreſs, to render my magnificence complete; and who ſo well qualified to prepare it, as the eloquent Mr. Sellon? Lo, he attends; and,

(*q*) Page 77. (*r*) Page 117. (*s*) Page 17, 18.
(*t*) Page 38. (*u*) Page 31, 52. (*x*) Page 49.
(*y*) Page 79. (*z*) Page 118. (*a*) Page 84.
(*b*) Page 18. (*c*) Page 117. (*d*) Page 124.
(*e*) Page 113. (*f*) Page 126.

reſpectfully advancing, pays me the following compliments: "Unhappily daring, and unpardonably bold, thy tongue imagineth wickedneſs, and with lies thou cutteſt like a ſharp razor. Thou haſt loved unrighteouſneſs more than goodneſs; and to talk of lies more than righteouſneſs. Thou haſt loved to ſpeak all words that may do hurt, O thou falſe tongue (*g*)." Such are the candour and politeneſs of theſe Methodiſts; and ſuch are the arguments, by which they would perſuade us, that Arminianiſm is the religion of the Church of England.

Theſe are the men that ſet up for "univerſal love;" who call one another by the cant names of "precious believers," "moſt excellent ſouls," "charming children of God," "ſweet chriſtians," and "the clean-hearted." If their hearts are no cleaner than their mouths, they have little reaſon to value themſelves on their "ſinleſs perfection."

Theſe are they who ſeek to bottom election on faith and goodneſs foreſeen; of which foreſeen goodneſs, humility and benevolence, meekneſs and forbearance, are, I ſuppoſe, ſome of the ingredients. Woe be to thoſe "ſweet chriſtians," if their election has no better foundation than their "ſweet" tempers, words, and works.

And why all this torrent of abuſe? The plain truth is this: I detected Mr. Weſley's forgeries, and chaſtiſed the forger. *Hinc ille lacrymæ.* Hence the outcries of John himſelf, together with thoſe of Thomas Olivers and Walter Sellon. The camp of the Philiſtines gave a ſcream, when they ſaw the levelled ſtone penetrate the braſs of their Goliath's forehead: but of all the tribe, none ſcreamed ſo loud as the frighted Walter; of whoſe talent at ſcreaming, a ſpecimen has been exhibited to the reader. Let me whiſper a friendly hint to this notable ſcreamer. If you wiſh your ſcurrilities to

(*g*) Page 2, 25;

obtain

obtain belief, reſtrain them within the banks of probability; malice, when too highly wrought, reſembles a cannon too highly charged, which recoils on the engineer himſelf, inſtead of reaching its intended object of direction.

I might, with the moſt juſtifiable propriety, have declined joining iſſue, in controverſy, with a perſon of Mr. Sellon's caſt, who is, by thoſe that know him, deemed ignorant and unpoliſhed, even to a proverb: he is, indeed, to borrow the language of another, "a ſmall body of Pelagian divinity, bound in calf, neither gilt nor lettered." I once hoped, that his friends were too ſevere, in branding him with ſuch a character; but he has been ſo weak as to publiſh; he has gibbeted himſelf in print. I am fully convinced, that his friends were in the right, and my charitable hope miſtaken.

Let none, however, ſuppoſe, that I harbour any degree of malevolence againſt either him or his maſter. Whatever I have already written, or may hereafter have occaſion to write, in oppoſition to them, or to any others, on whom the toil of defending them may devolve, has been, and, I truſt, ever will be, deſigned, not to throw odium on their perſons, nor to wound their cauſe unfairly, but, ſimply, to ſtrip error of its varniſh; to open the eyes of deluſion; to pluck the vizor from the face of hypocriſy; to bring Arminian Methodiſm to the teſt of fact and argument; to wipe off the aſperſions thrown, by the deſpairing hand of defeated heterodoxy, on the pureſt Church under Heaven; and to confirm ſuch as have believed through grace.

Indeed, the purity of my intention ſpeaks for itſelf. At a time of ſuch general defection from the doctrines of the Church Eſtabliſhed, I cannot poſſibly have any ſiniſter ends to anſwer, by aſſerting thoſe doctrines. It cannot be to gain applauſe; for, was that my motive, I ſhould ſtudiouſly ſwim with the current, and adopt the faſhionable ſyſtem:

neither can it be to acquire preferment; for the doctrines of grace are not the principles to riſe by. In the reigns of Edward VI. Elizabeth, and the former part of James I. the Calviniſtic points were neceſſary ſteps to advancement, and led directly to the top of the Church: but the ſtairs have been long turned another way: what was, once, the *cauſâ ſine quâ non* of aſcending, is now a *cauſa propter quam non*; or, conſidered as a reaſon for keeping unfaſhionable divines as low on the eccleſiaſtical ladder as poſſible.

I bleſs God, for enabling me to eſteem the reproach of Chriſt greater treaſure than all the applauſe of men, and all the preferments of the Church. When I received orders, I obtained mercy to be faithful; and, from that moment, gave up what is called the world, ſo far as I conceived it to interfere with faith and a good conſcience. The oppoſition which I have met with, in the courſe of my ten years miniſtry, has been nothing, compared with what I expected would enſue, on an open, ſteady attachment to the truths of God: and what inſults have been thrown in my way, came, for the moſt part, from a quarter equally abuſive and contemptible; I mean, from Mr. John Weſley, and a few of his unfledged diſciples; whoſe efforts give me no greater apprehenſion, than would a fly that was to ſettle on my hat.

Some readers may ſuppoſe, poſſibly, that, in the courſe of the annexed Treatiſe, I have handled my aſſailants too ſeverely: I requeſt, that ſuch will ſuſpend their judgment, until they have peruſed the performance which gave riſe to the preſent. Their opinion, I am perſuaded, will then be reverſed; and they will wonder, either at my deigning to take any notice at all, of an invective ſo exceedingly low and frivolous; or, at my not chaſtiſing the authors of it, with a ſeverity proportioned to their demerits: but, for abſtaining from the latter, I had, among others, two reaſons: 1. I ſhould have ſinned againſt meekneſs;

meekneſs; and, 2. The poverty of Mr. Sellon's talents, in particular, is ſo extreme, as to render him an object rather of pity than of reſentment. As the man cannot reaſon, nor even write grammatically, I often allow him to rail with impunity. If a malicious ignoramus comes againſt me with a ſtraw, ſelf-defence does not oblige me, and chriſtian charity forbids me, to knock him down with a bludgeon.

Moreover, the period may arrive, when this very perſon, as alſo his commander in chief, may ſee the juſtneſs, and experience the energy, of thoſe heavenly truths, which they now unite to blaſpheme: they may even preach the faith to which they have ſubſcribed, and which they impotently labour to deſtroy. If having once been an Arminian, were incompatible with future converſion and ſalvation, we might indeed aſk, who then can be ſaved? For every man is born an Arminian. Unrenewed nature ſpurns the idea of inheriting eternal life as the mere gift of Divine Sovereignty, and on the footing of abſolute grace. I will not affirm, that all, who heartily embrace the Scripture ſyſtem of Calviniſm, are ſavingly renewed by the holy ſpirit of God; for St. Stephen teaches us to diſtinguiſh between the circumciſion of the ears, and the circumciſion of the heart. Thus much, however, I aſſert, without heſitation, that I know, comparatively, very few Calviniſts, of whoſe ſaving renewal I have reaſon to doubt. I will even go a ſtep farther: ſincerely to admit and reliſh a ſyſtem ſo diametrically oppoſite to the natural pride of the human heart, is, with me, an inconteſtible proof, that a man's judgment, at leaſt, is brought into ſubjection to the obedience of Chriſt: and, to every ſuch perſon, thoſe words may be accommodated, "flesh and blood have not revealed this to thee, but my Father who is in heaven."

I cannot give the two Pelagian gentlemen ſtronger evidence of my concern for their welfare, than by

wiſhing them to renounce thoſe unhappy principles, which, under pretence of extending the grace of God, by repreſenting it as a glove accommodated to every hand, and which lies at the option of free-will either to make uſe of, or to fling behind the fire, do, in fact, annihilate all grace whatever, by ultimately reſolving its efficacy into the power, merits, and caprice of man. Mr. Weſley and Mr. Sellon may find, in Strype's Collections, a form of recantation, ready drawn to their hands. The hiſtorian introduces it thus:

"Another letter there was, writ (A. D. 1555) by one in priſon (for the Proteſtant faith, during the Marian perſecution), who had lately been one of theſe Free-willers (*b*), but now changed in his judgment, to certain of that perſuaſion, in priſon alſo for the goſpel." The perſecution of Proteſtants was ſo indiſcriminate, that not only the biſhops, clergy, and members of the Church of England, felt its iron hand, but even ſome of the Free-will Men (as they were then called), who diſſented from the Church, and had formed a ſeparate conventicle of their own, came in for a taſte of the common trouble: but, though a few of the few Free-willers (for their whole number was then exceeding ſmall) were impriſoned for a while, I cannot find that ſo much as one of them either died in confinement, or was brought to the ſtake. If Mr. Weſley and his friend can give authentic evidence, that ſo much as a ſingle Free-willer was burned by the Papiſts, let them point

(*b*) During the preceding reign of king Edward VI. there had been a congregation of Free-willers, in ſome part of London, who were Separatiſts from the Church of England; and, indeed, all Free-willers were then accounted Diſſenters, and openly profeſſed themſelves to be ſuch. Certain ſalvoes for duplicity, which have ſince been adopted, were not then invented. The Free-willers of that age were, with all their miſtakes, too honeſt, either to ſubſcribe to the Articles and Homilies of the Church, or ſtatedly to frequent her public worſhip.—I ſhall have occaſion to mention the Free-will Congregation hereafter.

him

him out by name; and, at the ſame time, remember to adduce their proofs. Such an inſtance, or inſtances, if producible, will reflect ſome honour on the Pelagians of that æra, though unable to turn the ſcale in favour of Pelagianiſm itſelf. I now return to the letter of the converted Free-will man. In it, ſays the hiſtorian, he lamented "the loſs of the goſpel (i. e. the revival of Popery by queen Mary); ſhewing the reaſons of it: whereof one he made to be, that they (viz. himſelf and his Pelagian brethren) had profeſſed the goſpel (i. e. Proteſtantiſm) with their tongues, and denied it in their (*i*) deeds: another, that they were not ſound in the doctrine of predeſtination. In this letter he mentioned what a grief it was to him, that he had endeavoured ſo much to perſuade others into his error of Free-will; and that divers of that congregation of Free-will Men began to be better informed; as namely, Ladley and Cole, and others unnamed: the report of whom gave him and his priſon-fellows much rejoicing (adding); that he was convinced (i. e. converted from being a Free-will Man) by certain preachers in priſon with him, who reconciled St. Paul and St. James together, to his great ſatisfaction (*k*)."

A great part of this choice letter is publiſhed by Mr. Strype, at the cloſe (*l*) of the volume referred to below. For Mr. Weſley's ſake, and for the ſake of thoſe who are led captive by him at his will, I here tranſcribe the following paſſages, which may ſerve him

(*i*) This is one proof, among a million, that the doctrines of Free-will and of Juſtification by Works (both which were ſtiffly contended for by theſe Pelagians, and to which moſt of them added the belief of ſinleſs perfection) are not doctrines really calculated to promote holineſs of life, whatever the aſſertors of thoſe tenets may pretend. Obſerve, they "were not found in the doctrine of Predeſtination;" and "their deeds" were ſo diſhonourable to a goſpel profeſſion, as to amount even to a "denial" of it.—As it was in the beginning, it is now, and ever will be; generally ſpeaking.—Unſoundneſs and unholineſs ſeldom fail to walk arm in arm.

(*k*) Strype's Eccleſ. Memorials, vol. 3. p. 247. Edit. 1721.

(*l*) Ibid. Append. N° xliii. p. 116—123.

as a model of retractation, in caſe it ſhould pleaſe God to grant him repentance to the acknowledgment of the truth.

"What high lauds, thanks and praiſe, am I bound to give always to God, who hath certified my conſcience, by his ſpirit, that he will not impute my ſins unto me, for his ſon Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, in whom he hath choſen his elect before the foundations of the world were laid; and preſerveth us all, ſo that there ſhall never any of us finally periſh, or be damned.

"I, for my part, repent, that ever I was ſo bitter unto them that were the teachers of this undoubted truth: verily, I am not able to expreſs the ſorrows that I have in my heart: moſt eſpecially, in that I went about, by all means, to perſuade others, whereby they might be one with me in that error of Free-will. With joy unſpeakable I rejoice, giving thanks to God, night and day, in that it hath pleaſed him to vouch me worthy his fatherly correction at this preſent, ſhewing me what I am by nature; that is to ſay, full of impiety and all evil: therefore, the great grief, which I daily feel, is, becauſe I ſee the horribleneſs and the great diſhonour, that the filthy Free-will of man doth render unto God. I ſigh and am grieved, becauſe I ſpake evil of that good I knew not.

"Wherefore, my beloved, I am provoked by the Holy Ghoſt, to viſit you with my letter; hoping, and believing, that God will give it good ſucceſs: whereby God's glory may be the more ſet forth. For I have a good opinion of you, my dear brethren; truſting in God, that he will reveal unto you the knowledge of himſelf: for I believe verily, that you be veſſels of God's mercy; therefore I am aſſured, that you ſhall lack no neceſſary article of your ſalvation. I have good cauſe ſo to judge of you; not only becauſe God hath opened his truth to me alone, but I alſo ſee how mercifully he hath dealt with many of our brethren, whom you do know well enough, as well as though I did recite them by name. God forbid

that

that I ſhould doubt you, ſeeing it hath pleaſed God to reveal himſelf, in theſe days, to them that heretofore were deceived with that error of the Pelagians, yea, and ſuffered (*m*) impriſonment in defence of that which now they deteſt and abhor. God be thanked for them. This is the Lord's doing; and it is marvellous in our eyes.

" Like as you have the truth, as concerning the Papiſts' ſacrament, in deſpiſing and hating that, as I do, it is well worthy: ſo likewiſe is Free-will a great untruth, undoubtedly.

" I think that God will receive me home unto himſelf ſhortly; therefore, I am moved to ſignify unto you, in what ſtate I ſtand, concerning the controverſy between the opinions of the truth of God's predeſtination and election in Chriſt. I do not hold predeſtination to the end to maintain evil, as there be ſome have full ungodly affirmed that we do; God forgive them, if it be his will. We are ſure that none, who have the full feeling of their

(*m*) It appears from hence, that, in the foregoing reign of king Edward, i. e. from the very firſt eſtabliſhment of the Proteſtant Church of England, Pelagianiſm, or holding and maintaining the doctrine of Free-will and its connected principles, was puniſhed with impriſonment. I acknowledge, that ſuch a method of dealing with the " Free-will Men" reflects very great diſhonour on the moderation of thoſe times. It demonſtrates, however, the high Calviniſm of the Church of England, whoſe ſecular and ſpiritual governors (among the latter of whom were the principal Reformers themſelves) could proceed, with ſuch extreme rigour, againſt the abettors of thoſe very tenets, which ſome modern Arminians, more raſh than wiſe, would perſuade us, were, even *ab origine*, the doctrines of the Church herſelf. I muſt add, that the uſage of " the Free-will Men" was very ſevere, both on the right hand, and on the left. In the Proteſtant reign of Edward VI. they had been impriſoned for being too Popiſh, in the articles of Juſtification, Election, and Grace; all three of which they ſuppoſed to be conditional and amiſſible. In the Catholic reign of Mary, they were liable to impriſonment, and ſome of them actually were impriſoned, for not being Popiſh enough, in the Articles of Image-worſhip and Tranſubſtantiation. Their troubles, under Mary, were no more than might be expected; but their ſufferings under Edward and the Reformers, were abſolutely unnatural and inexcuſable.

election

election in Chriſt, can love or allow thoſe things which God hateth.

" I would wiſh, that men ſhould not allow the fruit of faith to be the cauſe of faith. Faith bringeth forth good works, and not good works faith; for then of neceſſity we muſt attribute our ſalvation to our good works; which is great blaſphemy againſt God and Chriſt ſo to do.

" But, I thank God, I do allow good works in their (proper) place. For I was created in Chriſt unto good works; wherefore I am bound to allow them, according to the Scriptures; and not to the end to merit by them any thing at all; for then I were utterly deceived; for Eſay ſaith, all our righteouſneſſes are as a filthy cloth, and are not as the law of God requireth them: wherefore, I acknowledge, that all ſalvation, juſtification, redemption, and remiſſion of ſins, cometh to us wholly and ſolely by the mere mercy and free grace of God in Jeſus Chriſt, and not for any of our own works, merits, or deſervings. I myſelf could not underſtand St. Paul and St. James, to make them agree together, till our good preachers, who were my priſon-fellows, did open them unto me. I praiſe God for them, moſt humbly; and yet I cannot be ſo thankful for them as I ought to be.

" Paul ſaith, faith only juſtifieth, and not the deeds of the law: and St. James ſaith, faith, without deeds, is dead. Here are contraries to the carnal man. When I ſaw theſe two Scriptures plainly opened, I could not ſtand againſt the truth therein: and thus were they opened unto me; that faith only doth juſtify before God; and the good deeds which St. James ſpeaketh of, juſtify before the world.

" I thank God that they, who I thought would have been my enemies, are become my friends in the truth: as in ſample by our brethren Ladley and Cole, and ſuch like: if it had lain in their own wills,

wills, they would have been enemies to that excellent truth which they do now allow: praiſed be God for them; for it is he who worketh both the will and the deed. If he had not been merciful unto them and to me, and prevented our wills, we had been ſtill wallowing in the mire. The prophet Jeremy ſaith, Turn thou me, and I ſhall be turned; heal thou me, and I ſhall be healed. And David ſaith, The Lord hath prepared the hearts of the poor, and his ear hearkeneth unto them: ſo that it is the Lord who doth all that good is. And again, David ſaith, Aſcribe all honour and glory to God, who alone is worthy: for no man cometh unto me, ſaith Chriſt, except the Father, who hath ſent me, draw him. And again he ſaith, All that the Father hath given me, ſhall come unto me; and him that cometh unto me, I caſt not away.

"Therefore, I believe that we ſhall, every one, be preſerved and kept, in him and for him, according to his own word. I dare boldly ſay, with our everlaſting Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, that all the elect ſhall be preſerved and kept for ever and ever: ſo then none of them ſhall be damned at any time. They who ſay that any of them may be loſt for ever, do as much as in them lieth to make (i. e. to repreſent) Chriſt unable to preſerve and keep them: denying the power of Chriſt, in ſo ſaying: for he ſaith, he loveth his unto the end: which love remaineth, and ſhall never be extinguiſhed, or put out: and is not as the love of man, which is ſometimes angry, and ſometimes pleaſed. God, at no time, is ſo diſpleaſed with any of his elect, to the end that he will deprive them of the purchaſed poſſeſſion, which he hath laid up in ſtore for them in Chriſt before, and were elect according to the foreknowledge of God the Father, through ſanctifying of the ſpirit, unto obedience and ſprinkling of the blood of Jeſus Chriſt: which Lamb was killed from the beginning, according to God's divine will

and

and providence. Chriſt was ordained to die in the fleſh; and all was for our ſins. Chriſt was ordained in this reſpect; that the Father, ſeeing the fall of Adam, for that purpoſe only he ordained Chriſt, to the end that he would preſerve a remnant of the poſterity of Adam, even as it pleaſed his godly wiſdom.

" What, will ſome ſay a remnant, and not all? St. Paul ſaith, Like as all died in Adam, &c. And St. John ſaith, Not for our ſins only, &c. Ah! will theſe Free-will Men ſay, Where is your remnant now become? To whom I anſwer by the Scriptures, whereas Chriſt ſhall ſay, in the laſt day, Depart from me, ye curſed; I know you not: I pray you, tell me, did not God know them, as concerning their creation, and alſo their wickedneſs? Yes, verily: but he knew them not for his elect children.

" The true Church of Chriſt doth underſtand theſe all (viz. the all, and the whole redeemed world, mentioned by St. Paul and St. John), and all other ſuch like Scriptures, to include all the elect children of God. None otherwiſe, I am ſure, that theſe all can be underſtanded, except we ſhould make the Scripture repugnant to itſelf; which were too much ignorance, and too great an abſurdity, to grant.

" I affirm, that all they be blaſphemers to God, that do ſlander the truth in predeſtination; that ſay, If I be once in, I cannot be out, do what evil I will or can: all ſuch do declare themſelves to be reprobates, and children of God's ire and wrath, rather than any of his. For whoſoever delighteth in thoſe things which God hateth and abhorreth, doth declare himſelf to be none of God's: but, if he be any of his, he will give him repentance, for to know the truth, by his ſpirit. For the ſpirit maketh interceſſion for the ſaints, according to the pleaſure of God. For we know that all things work for the beſt,

beſt, unto them that love God, who are called of purpoſe. For thoſe which he knew before, hè alſo ordained before, that they ſhould be like faſhioned unto the ſhape (i. e. here, to the gracious, hereafter to the glorious, reſemblance) of his Son.

" And, ſeeing God hath made all his elect like to the ſhape (the ſpiritual and moral ſimilitude) of Jeſus Chriſt, how is it poſſible, that any of them can fall away? Whoſoever he be, that doth ſo hold, is againſt God and Chriſt; and may as well ſay, that our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt may periſh as any of them; for Chriſt ſaid unto the Father, Thou haſt loved them as thou haſt loved me: although Chriſt ſpake theſe words to the comfort of his diſciples at the preſent, ſo likewiſe is it to the comfort of all us, his choſen. Thoſe that St. Paul ſpeaketh of, that God knew before, he meant by it, all his elect; and immediately he addeth, ſaying, Whom he appointed before, them alſo he called; and whom he called, them alſo he juſtified; and whom he juſtified, them alſo he glorified. What ſhall we then ſay to theſe things? If God be on our ſide, who can be againſt us? That is to ſay, if God have appointed to glorify us and to ſave us, who can then deny (deprive) him of any of us, or take us out of his hands?

" My ſheep, ſaith Chriſt, hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me; and I give unto them eternal life, and they ſhall never periſh. O moſt worthy Scriptures! which ought to compel us to have a faithful remembrance, and to note the tenor thereof; which is, the ſheep of Chriſt ſhall never periſh.

" Doth Chriſt mean part of his elect, or all, think you? I do hold, and affirm, and alſo faithfully believe, that he meant all his elect, and not part, as ſome do full ungodly affirm. I confeſs and believe aſſuredly, that there ſhall never any of them periſh; for I have good authority ſo to ſay; becauſe Chriſt

is my author, and ſaith, if it were poſſible, the very elect ſhould be deceived. *Ergo*, it is not poſſible that they can be ſo deceived, that they ſhall ever finally periſh, or be damned: wherefore, whoſoever doth affirm that there may be any (i. e. any of the elect) loſt, doth affirm that Chriſt hath a torn body (*n*)."

The above valuable letter of recantation is thus inſcribed: "A Letter to the Congregation of Free-willers, by One that had been of that Perſuaſion, but come off, and now a Priſoner for Religion:" which ſuperſcription will hereafter, in its due place, ſupply us with a remark of more than ſlight importance.

To occupy the place of argument, it has been alledged that "Mr. Weſley is an old man;" and the Church of Rome is ſtill older than he. Is that any reaſon why the enormities, either of the mother or the ſon, ſhould paſs unchaſtiſed?

It has alſo been ſuggeſted, that "Mr. Weſley is a very laborious man:" not more laborious, I preſume, than a certain active being, who is ſaid to go to and fro in the earth, and walk up and down in it (*o*): nor yet more laborious, I ſhould imagine, than certain ancient Sectarians, concerning whom it was long ago ſaid, Woe unto you Scribes, Phariſees, hypocrites; for ye compaſs ſea and land to make one proſelyte (*p*): nor, by any means, ſo uſefully laborious, as a certain diligent member of the community, reſpecting whoſe variety of occupations the public have lately received the following intelligence: "The truth of the following inſtance of induſtry may be depended on: a poor man, with a large family, now cries milk, every morning, in Lothbury, and the neighbourhood of the Royal Exchange; at eleven, he wheels about a barrow of

(*n*) Strype, u. s.
(*o*) Job i. 7. with 1 Pet. v. 8.
(*p*) Matth. xxiii. 15.

potatoes;

potatoes; at one, he cleans ſhoes at the 'Change; after dinner, cries milk again; in the evening, ſells ſprats; and at night, finiſhes the meaſure of his labour as a watchman (*q*)."

Mr. Sellon, moreover, reminds me (p. 128.) that, "while the ſhepherds are quarrelling, the wolf gets into the ſheep-fold;" not impoſſible: but it ſo happens, that the preſent quarrel is not among "the ſhepherds," but with the "wolf" himſelf: which "quarrel" is warranted by every maxim of paſtoral meekneſs and fidelity.

I am farther told, that, while I am "be-rating the Arminians, Rome and the Devil laugh in their ſleeves." Admitting that Mr. Sellon might derive this anecdote from the fountain-head, the parties themſelves, yet, as neither they nor he are very conſpicuous for veracity, I conſtrue the intelligence by the rule of reverſe, though authenticated by the depoſition of their right truſty and well-beloved couſin and counſellor.

Once more: I am charged with "exceſſive ſupercilioufneſs, and majeſty of pride:" and why not charged with having ſeven heads and ten horns, and a tail as long as a bell-rope? After all, what has my pride, or my humility, to do with the argument in hand? Whether I am haughty, or meek, is of no more conſequence either to that, or to the public, than whether I am tall or ſhort: however, I am, at this very time, giving one proof, that my "majeſty of pride" can ſtoop; ſtoop even to ventilate the impertinences of Mr. Sellon.

But, however frivolous his cavils, the principles for which he contends are of the moſt pernicious nature and tendency. I muſt repeat, what already ſeems to have given him ſo much offence, that Arminianiſm "came from Rome, and leads thither again." Julian, biſhop of Eclana, a contemporary

(*q*) Bath Chronicle, for Feb. 6, 1772.

and

and diſciple of Pelagius, was one of thoſe who endeavoured, with much art, to gild the doctrines of that hereſiarch, in order to render them more ſightly and palatable. The Pelagian ſyſtem, thus varniſhed and palliated, ſoon began to acquire the ſofter name of Semipelagianiſm. Let us take a view of it, as drawn to our hands by the celebrated Mr. Bower, who was himſelf, in the main, a profeſſed Pelagian, and therefore leſs likely to preſent us with an unfavourable portrait of the ſyſtem he generally approved.

Among the principles of that ſect, this learned writer enumerates the following:

"The notion of election and reprobation, independent on our merits or demerits, is maintaining a fatal neceſſity, is the bane of all virtue, and ſerves only to render good men remiſs in working out their ſalvation, and to drive ſinners to deſpair.

"The decrees of election and reprobation are poſterior to, and in conſequence of, our good or evil works, as foreſeen by God from all eternity (*r*)."

Is not this too the very language of modern Arminianiſm? Do not the partizans of that ſcheme argue on the ſame principles, and expreſs their objections againſt Calviniſm even in the ſame identical terms? Should it be ſaid, "true, this proves that Arminianiſm is Pelagianiſm revived; but it does not prove, that the doctrines of Arminianiſm are originally Popiſh:" a moment's cool attention will make it plain that they are. Let us again hear Mr. Bower, who, after the paſſage juſt quoted, immediately adds, "on theſe two laſt propoſitions, the Jeſuits found their whole ſyſtem of grace and free-will; agreeing therein with the Semipelagians, againſt the Janſeniſts and St. Auſtin (*s*)." The Jeſuits were molded into a regular body, towards the middle

(*r*) Bower's Hiſt. of the Popes, vol. i. p. 350. (*s*) Bower, ibid.

of

of the ſixteenth century: toward the cloſe of the ſame century, Arminius began to infeſt the Proteſtant churches. It needs therefore no great penetration, to diſcern from what ſource he drew his poiſon. His journey to Rome (though Monſieur Bayle affects to make light of the inferences which were at that very time deduced from it) was not for nothing. If, however, any are diſpoſed to believe, that Arminius imbibed his doctrines from the Socinians in Poland, with whom, it is certain, he was on terms of intimate friendſhip, I have no objection to ſplitting the difference: he might import ſome of his tenets from the Racovian brethren, and yet be indebted, for others, to the diſciples of Loyala.

Certain it is, that Arminius himſelf was ſenſible, how greatly the doctrine of predeſtination widens the diſtance between Proteſtantiſm and Popery. "There is no point of doctrine (ſays he) which the Papiſts, the Anabaptiſts, and the (new) Lutherans more fiercely oppoſe, nor by means of which they heap more diſcredit on the reformed Churches, and bring the reformed ſyſtem itſelf into more odium; for they (i. e. the Papiſts, &c.) aſſert, that no fouler blaſphemy againſt God can be thought or expreſſed, than is contained in the doctrine of predeſtination (*t*)." For which reaſon, he adviſes the reformed world to diſcard predeſtination from their creed, in order that they may live on more brotherly terms with the Papiſts, the Anabaptiſts, and ſuch like.

The Arminian writers make no ſcruple to ſeize and retail each other's arguments, as common property. Hence, Samuel Hoord copies from Van Harmin the ſelf-ſame obſervation which I have now

(*t*) *Porro, nullum eſt doctrinæ caput, quod Papiſtæ, Anabaptiſtæ, et Lutherani acriùs oppugnent; perque cujus latus eccleſiis noſtris graviùs invidiam concilient, totamque adeò doctrinam in odium vocent: ſtatuentes, nullam tam fœdam adverſus Deum blaſphemiam excogitari aut verbis proferri poſſe.* Arminius, in Oper. p. 115. Ludg. 1629.

cited. "Predeſtination (ſays Samuel) is an opinion odious to the Papiſts, opening their foul mouths againſt our Church and religion (*u*):" conſequently, our adopting the oppoſite doctrines of univerſal grace and free-will, would, by bringing us ſo many degrees nearer to the Papiſts, conduce to ſhut their mouths, and make them regard us, ſo far at leaſt, as their own orthodox and dearly beloved brethren: whence it follows, that, as Arminianiſm came from Rome, ſo "it leads thither again."

If the joint verdict of Arminius himſelf, and of his Engliſh proſelyte Hoord, will not turn the ſcale, let us add the teſtimony of a profeſſed Jeſuit, by way of making up full weight. When archbiſhop Laud's papers were examined, a letter was found among them, thus endorſed with that prelate's own hand: "March, 1628. A Jeſuit's Letter, ſent to the Rector at Bruxels, about the enſuing Parliament." The deſign of this letter was to give the Superior of the Jeſuits, then reſident at Bruſſels, an account of the poſture of civil and eccleſiaſtical affairs in England; an extract from it I ſhall here ſubjoin: "Father Rector, let not the damp of aſtoniſhment ſeize upon your ardent and zealous ſoule, in apprehending the ſodaine and unexpected calling of a Parliament. We have now many ſtrings to our bow. We have planted that ſoveraigne drugge, Arminianiſme, which we hope will purge the Proteſtants from their hereſie; and it flouriſheth and beares fruit in due ſeaſon. For the better prevention of the Puritanes, the Arminians have already locked up the Duke's (of Buckingham) eares; and we have thoſe of our owne religion, which ſtand continually at the Duke's chamber, to ſee who goes in and out: we cannot be too circumſpect and carefull in this regard. I am, at this time, tranſported with joy, to ſee how happily all inſtruments and means, as

(*u*) Hoord, in Biſhop Davenant's Animadverſions, Camb. 1641.

well

well great as leſſer, co-operate unto our purpoſes. But, to returne unto the maine fabricke:---Our foundation is Arminianiſme. The Arminians and projectors, as it appeares in the premiſes, affect mutation. This we ſecond and enforce by probable arguments (*x*)."

The " ſovereign drug, Arminianiſm," which, ſaid the Jeſuit, " we (i. e. we Papiſts) have planted" in England, did indeed bid fair " to purge" our Proteſtant Church effectually. How merrily Popery and Arminianiſm, at that time, danced hand in hand, may be learned from Tindal: " The churches were adorned with paintings, images, altar-pieces, &c. and, inſtead of communion tables, altars were ſet up, and bowings to them and the ſacramental elements enjoined. The predeſtinarian doctrines were forbid, not only to be preached, but to be printed; and the Arminian ſenſe of the Articles was encouraged and propagated (*y*)." The Jeſuit, therefore, did not exult without cauſe. The " ſovereign drug," ſo lately " planted," did indeed take deep root downward, and bring forth fruit upward, under the cheriſhing auſpices of Charles and Laud.

Heylyn, too, acknowledges, that the ſtate of things was truly deſcribed by another Jeſuit of that age, who wrote thus: " Proteſtantiſm waxeth weary of itſelf. The doctrine (by the Arminians, who then ſat at the helm) is altered in many things, for which their progenitors forſook the Church (of Rome): as *limbus patrum*; prayer for the dead; the poſſibility of keeping God's commandments; and the accounting of Calviniſm to be hereſy at leaſt, if not treaſon (*z*)."

The maintaining of theſe poſitions, by the Court divines, was an " alteration" indeed; which the abandoned Heylyn aſcribes to " the ingenuity and

(*x*) Hidden Works of Darkneſs, p. 89, 90. Edit. 1645.
(*y*) Tindal's Contin. of Rapin, vol. 3. octavo, 1758.
(*z*) Life of Laud, p. 238.

moderation found in ſome profeſſors of our religion." If we ſum up the evidence that has been given, we ſhall find its amount to be, that Arminianiſm came from the Church of Rome, and leads back again to the pit from whence it was digged.

The mention of Rome naturally enough paves the way for ſaying ſomething about John Goodwin: and the rather, as Mr. Sellon ſeriouſly ſuppoſes that I paid his friend Weſley a very great compliment, when I ſtyled him, which I ſtill do, the John Goodwin of the preſent age. The greatneſs of this compliment will appear, from the following ſhort particulars, which ſome hiſtorians have tranſmitted to poſterity, concerning the ſaid Goodwin.

About the year 1652, when Cromwell's deſign of uſurping the ſovereign power became more and more apparent, a ſet of viſionaries, known by the name of Fifth-Monarchy Men (*a*), grew very turbulent

(*a*) The leading principle, and the extravagant ſpirit, of theſe double-dyed enthuſiaſts, will appear, in part, from the titles of two famous Tracts publiſhed by them, about this æra:—1. "The founding of the laſt Trumpet; or, ſeveral Viſions, declaring the univerſal overturning and rooting up of all earthly Powers in England: with many other Things foretold, which ſhall come to paſs in this Year 1650, lately ſhewed unto George Foſter, who was commanded to print them."—2. "Sion's approaching Glory; or, the great and glorious Day of the Lord King Jeſus's appearing; before whom all the Kings of the Nations muſt fall, and never riſe again. Accurately deſcribed, according to the Prophets, Chriſt, and his Apoſtles, in Three-and-forty Sections: by James Freze, Merchant, 1652." See Grey's Notes on Hudibras, vol. 2. p. 245.

The Fifth-Monarchiſts were not entirely extinguiſhed, at the Reſtoration of Charles II. "That king (ſays biſhop Burnet) had not been many days at Whitehall, when one Venner, a violent Fifth-Monarchy Man, who thought it was not enough to believe, that Chriſt was to put the Saints into the poſſeſſion of the kingdom, but added to this, that the Saints were to take the kingdom themſelves, gathered ſome of the moſt furious of the party to a Meeting in Coleman-ſtreet (which, by the way, was the very part of the town where John Goodwin, at that very time, privately exerciſed his miniſtry; and it is not improbable, but Goodwin's own Meeting-houſe might be the place of rendezvous, to which Venner convened his brother conſpirators. See Calamy's Account of the Ejected Miniſters,

bulent and conſpicuous. Their grand ring-leader was John Goodwin, the Arminian; who had alſo rendered himſelf remarkable, by aſperſing the Calviniſtic doctrines of the Church of England, and by publiſhing

niſters, p. 53. Edit. 1713). There they concerted the day and the manner of their riſing to ſet Chriſt on his throne, as they called it: but, withal, they meant to manage the government in his name; and were ſo formal, that they had prepared ſtandards and colours, with their devices on them, and furniſhed themſelves with very good arms; but, when the day came, there was but a ſmall appearance, not exceeding twenty: however, they reſolved to venture out into the ſtreets, and cry out, No King but Chriſt. Some of them ſeemed perſuaded, that Chriſt would come down and head them. They ſcoured the ſtreets before them, and made a great progreſs; they killed a great many; but were at laſt maſtered by numbers; and were all either killed, or taken and executed." Burnet's Own Time, vol. i. p. 160, 161. Folio.

Biſhop Kennett juſtly obſerves, that the Fifth-Monarchy Men were "the moſt bold and bloody of all ſorts of enthuſiaſts." Complete Hiſt. of Engl. vol. 3. p. 225.

Dr. Echard will, more than any hiſtorian yet quoted, let us into the true knowledge of the unparalleled exorbitancies, which marked the temper and proceedings of this ſpecies of fanatics. Venner himſelf was, it ſeems, a Preaching Cooper, and uſed to hold forth in John Goodwin's pulpit (that tub without hoops), in Coleman-ſtreet. The topics, on which Venner and his aſſociates uſually harangued their Arminian auditory, were, the expedience and neceſſity of "taking up arms for king Jeſus (I ſhudder at the blaſphemy), againſt the powers of the earth, the king, the duke of York, general Monk, &c. aſſuring them, that no weapons formed againſt them (i. e. againſt their own ſect) ſhould proſper, nor an hair of their heads be touched; for one ſhould chace a thouſand, and two put ten thouſand to flight. Upon which they got a declaration printed, entitled, A Door of Hope opened: in which they ſaid and declared; that they would never ſheath their ſwords, till Babylon (as they called monarchy) became an hiſſing and a curſe; and (till) there be left neither remnant, ſon, nor nephew: that, when they had led captivity captive in England, they would go into France, Spain, Germany, &c. and rather die, than take the wicked oaths of ſupremacy and allegiance: that they would not make any leagues with Monarchiſts, but would riſe up againſt the carnal, to poſſeſs the gate, or the world; to bind their kings in chains, and their nobles in fetters of iron." The hiſtorian then gives a circumſtantial account of Venner's inſurrection, in conſequence of theſe godly reſolutions: but he and nineteen others, being at length overpowered and taken, were tried at the Old Bailey, "for treaſon and murder; which being fully proved on Venner and ſixteen of the reſt, when ſentence was

publiſhing a folio Vindication of King Charles's Beheaders: yet, behold the art of this crafty Arminian! though the Fifth-Monarchy Men were not a little odious and formidable to Oliver Cromwell, and though John Goodwin was actually at the head of thoſe odious and formidable fanatics; Goodwin, notwithſtanding, plyed Cromwell ſo aſſiduouſly with flattery and obſequiouſneſs, as to gain no ſmall meaſure of that Uſurper's confidence: even the diſſembling Oliver was, in part, over-reached by the ſtill more exquiſite diſſimulation of maſter Goodwin.

Let not the candid reader imagine, that my colouring is too ſtrong, or laid on too thickly: to cut off the very poſſibility of ſuch a ſurmiſe, I ſhall expreſs what I farther have to obſerve concerning the ſly Fifth-Monarchy Man, in the words of others: not forgetting, at the ſame time, to ſubjoin, from biſhop Burnet, as much as may ſuffice to authenticate what has been already placed to John Goodwin's account.

" The Fifth-Monarchy Men ſeemed (viz. A. D. 1652 and 1653.) to be really in expectation, every day, when Chriſt ſhould appear. John Goodwin

pronounced againſt them. and Lord Chief Juſtice Foſter ſeriouſly charged Venner with the blood of his unhappy accomplices, Venner impudently replied, It was not he, but Jeſus, that led them. Being ſentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, Venner and Hodgkins were, on the 19th of January, executed, over againſt their Meeting-houſe, in Coleman-ſtreet." Echard's Hiſt. of Engl. vol. 3. p. 42—44.

Biſhop Kennett affirms, that moſt of the Fifth-Monarchy Men, who were executed on account of Venner's inſurrection, died " raving, and threatening judgment, and calling down vengeance on the king, the judges, and the city" of London. Complete Hiſt. u. s.

And yet Mr. John Weſley and Mr. Walter Sellon are for referring us to the writings of John Goodwin (the very man who was at the head of the Fifth-Monarchy Men, and whoſe Meeting-houſe in Coleman-ſtreet appears to have been the rendezvous and head quarters of the party), as the ſchool of orthodoxy, wherein we are to learn what are the " genuine doctrines of the Church of England!"—*Credat Judæus apella: non ego.*

headed

headed theſe; who firſt brought in Arminianiſm among the ſectaries. None of the preachers were ſo thorough-paced for him (i. e. for Cromwell) as to temporal matters, as Goodwin was; for he (Goodwin) not only juſtified the putting the King to death, but magnified it as the glorioufeſt action men were capable of. He (Goodwin) filled all people with ſuch expectation of a glorious thouſand years ſpeedily to begin, that it looked like a madneſs poſſeſſing them (*b*)." Such being the principles of John Goodwin, what a maſter-piece of political cunning muſt his conduct have been, which could fix him ſo tightly in the ſaddle of Cromwell's eſteem! On the one hand, Cromwell was taking large ſtrides toward the throne; and, ſoon, actually acquired kingly power, though (by ſpinning his thread of affected moderation too finely) he miſſed the name of King. On the other hand, Goodwin, "who had long repreſented kingſhip as the great Antichriſt which hindered Chriſt's being ſet on his throne (*c*)," carried himſelf fairly with the Protector, who was, every day, viſibly approximating nearer and nearer to that very "kingſhip" which Goodwin abhorred as "the great Antichriſt" that excluded the Meſſiah from poſſeſſing his right. A little to ſave appearances, Cromwell canted, occaſionally, to Goodwin, and the reſt of the Fifth-Monarchy Men; and, in return, Goodwin as cantingly pretended to be convinced of Cromwell's holy and upright intentions!

It ſurpriſed every body, ſays Burnet, that John Goodwin, who had been ſo furious and active againſt Charles I. ſhould come off with impunity after the reſtoration of Charles II. "But (adds the right reverend hiſtorian), Goodwin had been ſo zealous an Arminian, and had ſown ſuch diviſion among all the ſectaries, on theſe heads, that, it was ſaid, this

(*b*) Burnet's Own Times, vol. i. p. 67. (*c*) Burnet, ibid.

procured him friends (*d*)." It has long been univerſally known and acknowledged, that Charles II. himſelf had been, for ſome time before the commencement of his reign, a concealed Papiſt; and that he continued ſuch, to the laſt moment of his life. No wonder, therefore, that Goodwin's Arminianiſm (*e*) atoned for the rancour and frenzy of his political principles and behaviour. "Goodwin had, ſo often, not only juſtified, but magnified, the putting the king to death, both in his ſermons and books, that few thought he could have been either forgot or excuſed; for (Hugh) Peters and he were the only preachers who ſpoke of it in that ſtrain (*f*)." Who will ſay, that John Goodwin knew not how to balance a ſtraw? During the civil commotions, the ranter kept himſelf ſecure, by his abhorrence of monarchy. After the nation was reſettled, he preſerved his neck, and his treaſons were overlooked, on account of his zeal for Arminianiſm. He had been already ſerviceable to the Popiſh cauſe, by "ſowing diviſions" among Proteſtants; and he was ſuffered to live, by a Popiſh prince who aimed at arbitrary power, in order to his being farther uſeful in the ſame laudable department.

So much for Goodwin, as a politician: a word or two, now, concerning him as a divine, and an individual; for it is, chiefly, in theſe latter reſpects, that I have honoured Mr. John Weſley with, what Mr. Sellon calls, "the great commendation" of being the John Goodwin of the preſent age.

(*d*) Burnet, ibid, p. 163.

(*e*) Goodwin, however, ſoon after the coming in of Charles II. trembled for his neck, and thought proper to lie hid for a ſeaſon. The immediate occaſion of which panic was this: in Auguſt, 1660, "was called in a book of John Goodwin (then lately a Miniſter in Coleman-ſtreet, London), entitled, The Obſtructers of Juſtice; written in defence of the ſentence againſt his majeſty Charles I. At which time alſo the ſaid Goodwin abſconded, to prevent juſtice." (Wood's *Athenæ*, vol. i. col. 882. Edit. 1691.) The fox, however, at length, ventured out of his hole, and was not earthed till 1665.

(*f*) Burnet, ibid.

Dr.

Dr. Calamy informs us, that, on the Reſtoration, Goodwin, " not being ſatisfied with the terms of the Uniformity-act, lived and died a Non-conformiſt. He was a man by himſelf; was againſt every man, and had every man almoſt againſt him. He was very warm and eager (in) whatſoever he engaged in (*g*)." The ſame writer obſerves, that Goodwin " wrote ſuch a number of controverſial pieces, that it would be no eaſy thing to reckon them up with any exactneſs (*h*)." If, inſtead of the word " wrote," we only ſubſtitute the word " pilferred," the whole of theſe two paſſages will fit both the Mr. Johns as neatly as their ſkins.

A very humorous circumſtance, reſpecting Goodwin, is related by Antony Wood: an ingenious writer of that age publiſhed a book againſt Goodwin, with this facetious title: " Coleman-ſtreet Conclave viſited; and that grand Impoſtor, the Schiſmatic's Cheater in Chief (who hath long ſlily lurked therein) truly and duly diſcovered; containing a moſt palpable and plain Diſplay of Mr. John Goodwin's Self-conviction, and of the notorious Hereſies, Errors, Malice, Pride, and Hypocriſy, of this moſt huge Garagantua. London, 1648." The title is curious; but the frontiſpiece, prefixed, was exquiſitely laughable, and moſt juſtly deſcriptive of the original. " Before the title (continues Wood) is John Goodwin's picture, with a windmill over his head, and a weathercock upon it, with other hieroglyphics, or emblems, about him, to ſhew the inſtability of the man (*i*)." The writer of the above piece was Mr. John Vicars, the famous author of " The Schiſmatic ſifted;" who, if he ſifted all ſchiſmatics as ſearchingly as he appears to have ſifted John Goodwin, the ſchiſmatics of that age had no great reaſon to be much in love either

(*g*) Account of Ejected Miniſters, p. 53.
(*h*) Continuation, vol. i. p. 78.
(*i*) *Athenæ*, vol. ii. col. 85.

with

with the ſifter, or the ſieve. What a maſterly ſifting would ſuch a man have given to John Weſley and Walter Sellon! But they muſt now content themſelves with Goodwin's legacy of the windmill ſurmounted by a weathercock.

Goodwin had an excellent talent at ſcurrility and abuſe; whereof take the following conciſe example: Mr. Nedham had written two treatiſes againſt him; the one entitled, "Trial of Mr. John Goodwin at the Bar of Religion and right Reaſon:" the other, "The great Accuſer caſt down;" on which the inflammable Arminian immediately took fire, and gave vent to his rage in exploſions not the moſt gentle. He characterized Nedham as having "a foul mouth, which Satan hath opened againſt the truth and mind of God;" as being "a perſon of infamous and unclean character for the ſervice of the triers;" as "a man that curſeth whatſoever he bleſſeth, and bleſſeth whatſoever he curſeth (*k*)." And yet John Goodwin is repreſented as having been, like Mr. John Weſley, "a meek, loving-hearted" Arminian! Let me add, concerning the firſt of theſe Johns, that (among a multitude of other refuters) he was taken to taſk, in 1653, by the learned Mr. Obadiah Howe, in a performance entitled, "The Pagan Preacher ſilenced (*l*)." I queſtion, if any of Goodwin's Pagan preachments are ſtill extant: but ſuch of his Pagan treatiſes as have reached the preſent times, are, I find, the very Bible and Common Prayer-book of Mr. Walter Sellon. I ſhall cloſe theſe remarks on Goodwin with ſome of the encomiums heaped on him by his ſaid admirer. John Goodwin, ſaith this ſagacious critic, was a man "whom envy itſelf cannot but praiſe; a glorious champion for the truth of the goſpel, and for the genuine doctrines of the Church of England (*m*)." Thus chaunts the godly and

(*k*) *Athenæ*, vol. 2. col. 469: (*l*) Ibid. 558. (*m*) Sellon, p. 26.

loyal

loyal Mr. Sellon: the veracity, the modeſty, and the propriety of whoſe panegyric, may be amply collected from the foregoing teſtimonies, which I have produced, concerning the ranting Fifth-Monarchy Man, J. Goodwin.

Mr. Sellon is no happier in deducing concluſions, than in the drawing of characters: witneſs his judicious commentary on a paſſage of mine, from whence he labours to diſtil no leſs than the doctrine of univerſal ſalvation. In my remarks on Dr. Nowell, I teſtified my firm belief, that the ſouls of all departed infants are with God in glory: that, in the decree of predeſtination to life, God hath included all whom he decreed to take away in infancy; and that the decree of reprobation hath nothing to do with them (*n*). From theſe premiſes, ſays Sellon, it follows, that "Mr. Toplady himſelf maintains general redemption, and even the univerſal ſalvation of mankind." *Logica Selloniana!* As if all mankind died in infancy. "Oh, but you quoted Matthew xviii. 14, to prove the ſalvation of infants:" true; I did ſo. Let us review the text itſelf. "It is not the will of your Father which is in Heaven, that one of theſe little ones ſhould periſh." Suppoſing this to be ſpoken of infants, literally ſo called, it certainly proves, that all who die in that ſtate are ſaved. "Oh, but our Lord ſays nothing about their dying in that ſtate; he ſpeaks of little ones in general, whether they live long, or die ſoon." Does he indeed? Conſult verſe 10, "Take heed that ye deſpiſe not one of theſe little ones; for I ſay unto you, that their angels (i. e. as I underſtand it, the ſouls of ſuch of them as die in infancy) do always behold the face of my Father who is in Heaven." Now, I ſhould imagine it impoſſible for the angels, or ſouls, of little children, always to behold the face

(*n*) See my Vindication of the Church of England from Arminianiſm.

of

of God in Heaven, unleſs their ſouls were previouſly diſlodged from their bodies by death: conſequently, according to my view of the paſſage, our Lord, in the 14th verſe, ſpeaks of ſuch little ones, and of ſuch only, as actually die in infancy. "Oh, but the word angels means guardian angels, appointed to take care of children." Before I can ſubſcribe to this, I muſt ſee a grain or two of that neceſſary thing called proof. That children, no leſs than adults, are objects of angelic attention, in the courſe of Providence, I am far from denying: but, in my preſent conceptions of the paſſage under conſideration, I cannot believe that expoſition to convey the true ſenſe of this particular text. Among other reaſons, the following is one: how can thoſe ſuperior ſpirits, who are (upon very probable grounds) ſuppoſed, very frequently, if not conſtantly, to attend on infants, be yet ſaid to behold always the face of our Father, in Heaven? In order, therefore, to prove, that the word angels, in this declaration of our Lord, means angels, properly ſo termed, it muſt be firſt proved, that angels, properly ſo termed, can be preſent in more places than one, at one and the ſame time. "Oh, but angels may ſometimes attend children on earth, and at other times be preſent in Heaven:" likely enough: but the angels, here ſpoken of, are ſaid always to behold the face or glory of God, and that in Heaven; an affirmation which can never be reconciled to propriety, or even to truth, if they are ſuppoſed to be abſent from Heaven at any period, or on any occaſion. "Oh, but if angels are long-ſighted, they may ſee into Heaven while they are on earth." I never met with a treatiſe on the optics of angels, and therefore cannot ſay much to this hypothetical objection. On the whole, if "little ones in general," whether they die young, or live to maturity, be (as Mr. Sellon contends) entitled to ſalvation, his own title to happineſs is inconteſtible. If little reaſoning, leſs knowledge,

ledge, and no regard to truth or decency, be a paſſport to the ſkies, this exotic ſtar will glitter there, like a diamond of the firſt water. In the mean while, I ſhould be obliged to the ſaid ſtar, if he would, with the help of Mr. Weſley's irradiation, ſhew me what becomes of departed infants, upon the Arminian plan of conditional ſalvation, and election on good works foreſeen.

From two Arminians, let me, for a moment, paſs to a third. It will be found, in the following Hiſtorical Diſquiſition, that I have made ſome uſe of Dr. Peter Heylyn's teſtimonies in favour of the grand argument: and I admit his depoſitions, on the ſame principle by which men, of the moſt exceptionable caſt, are ſometimes allowed to turn king's evidence.

HISTORIC

HISTORIC PROOF

OF THE

DOCTRINAL CALVINISM

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

SECTION I.

Free-willers the first Separatists from the Church of England.---*Character and Vindication of King* Edward VI.

TIME has been, when Arianism was more generally predominant throughout the Christian Church, than even Arminianism is at present. The whole world, says history, wondered, to see itself become Arian. It was Athanasius against all the world, and all the world against Athanasius.

Hardly were the clouds of Arianism dispersed, when the Pelagian darkness overspread a considerable part of the ecclesiastical horizon; and its influence has continued, more or less, to obscure the glory of the Christian faith, from that period to this. Yet is the eclipse far from total. We have a multitude of names, even in our present Sardis, who defile not either their doctrinal or their moral garments; and there is very good reason to believe, that their number, in this kingdom, both among clergy and laity, is continually increasing.

It is no novelty for the doctrines of grace to meet with opposition; and, indeed, few doctrines have been

been ſo much oppoſed as they. Swarms of fanatical ſectariſts were almoſt coeval with the Reformation itſelf. Such is the imperfect ſtate of things below, that the moſt important advantages are connected with ſome inconveniences. The ſhining of truth, like the ſhining of the ſun, wakens inſects into life, which, otherwiſe, would have no ſenſitive exiſtence. Yet, better for a few inſects to quicken, than for the ſun not to ſhine.

I ſhall not here review the tares which ſprang up with the Proteſtant corn in Germany; but content myſelf with juſt obſerving, that there was one congregation of Free-willers in London, during the reign even of the pious king Edward VI. and notwithſtanding the vigilance of our firſt Proteſtant biſhops---I ſay, there was one congregation of Free-willers; or, as they were then moſt uſually called, Freewill-men: and it ſhould ſeem, that there was then, in the metropolis, no more than one conventicle of this kind, held by ſuch as made profeſſion of Proteſtantiſm. For that valuable letter of recantation, preſerved by the impartial Mr. Strype, and of which ſo large a part has been quoted in our Introduction, was inſcribed (as before obſerved) with the following remarkable title: " A Letter to the Congregation of Free-willers."

London, however, was not the only place in England where Pelagianiſm began to neſtle, while good king Edward was on the throne. Some of the fraternity appeared likewiſe in two of the adjoining counties: viz. in Kent and Eſſex. Obſerve, I call the Free-willers of that age Pelagians; becauſe the new name of Arminians was not then known. The appearance of Freewill-men in Kent and Eſſex is aſſigned by Strype to the year 1550, which was ten years before Arminius himſelf was born.

" Sectariſts," ſays the hiſtorian, " appeared now (viz. A. D. 1550.) in Eſſex and Kent, ſheltering themſelves under the profeſſion of the goſpel. Of whom

whom complaint was made to the Council. Theſe (i. e. theſe Free-willers) were the firſt that made ſeparation from the Church of England; having gathered congregations of their own (*a*);" viz. one in London, one at Feverſham in Kent, and another at Bocking in Eſſex. Beſides which, they uſed to hold ſome petty bye-meetings, when a few of them could aſſemble with ſecreſy and ſafety.

Before we proceed, let me interpoſe a ſhort remark.---So far is the Church of England from aſſerting the ſpiritual powers of free-will, and from denying predeſtination, that the deniers of predeſtination, and the aſſertors of free-will, were the very firſt perſons who ſeparated from her communion, and made a rent in her garment, by "gathering" three ſchiſmatical "congregations of their own." Thus, the Free-willers were the original, and are to this day ſome of the moſt real and eſſential, diſſenters from our evangelical eſtabliſhment.

I now return to the hiſtorian, who thus goes on: "The congregation in Eſſex was mentioned to be at Bocking; that in Kent was at Feverſham, as I learn from an old regiſter. From whence (i. e. from which ſame old regiſter) I collect, that they held the opinions (ſo far as free-will and predeſtination are concerned) of the Anabaptiſts and Pelagians (*b*)."

Theſe Free-willers were, it ſeems, looked upon in ſo dangerous a view by the Church of England, that they were complained of to the Privy Council; and, for the more peaceful ſecurity of the reformed eſtabliſhment, their names and tenets were authentically regiſtered and enrolled.

Mr. Strype, after giving us the names of fifteen of them, adds as follows: "Their teachers and divers of them were taken up, and found ſureties

(*a*) Strype's Memorials Eccleſiaſtical, vol. ii. b. i. ch. 29. p. 236.
(*b*) Ibid.

for their appearance; and at length brought into the Eccleſiaſtical Court, where they were examined in forty-ſix articles, or more (*c*)." Were (which God forbid) all Freewill-men to ſuffer equal moleſtation in the preſent age; were all Anti-predeſtinarians to be "taken up," "regiſtered," "find ſureties for their appearance," and at length be "examined in the Eccleſiaſtical Court;" what work would it make for conſtables, ſtationers, notaries, and biſhops' officers!

But to reſume the thread. "Many of thoſe, before named, being depoſed (i. e. put to their oath) upon the ſaid articles, confeſſed theſe to be ſome ſayings and tenets among them:

"That the doctrine of predeſtination was meeter for devils than for chriſtian men.

"That children were not born in original ſin.

"That no man was ſo choſen, but he might damn himſelf; neither any man ſo reprobate, but he might keep God's commandments, and be ſaved.

"That St. Paul might have damned himſelf if he liſted.

"That learned men were the cauſe of great errors.

"That God's predeſtination was not certain, but upon condition.

"That to play at any manner of game for money is ſin, and a work of the fleſh.

"That luſt after evil was not ſin, if the act were not committed. That there were no reprobates. And,

"That the preaching of predeſtination is a damnable thing (*d*)."

So much for theſe Free-willers, who were the firſt Separatiſts from the Church of England; and whoſe tenets Mr. Strype (though not a Calviniſt himſelf) ju[illegible] allows to be Anabaptiſtical and Pelagian. How exactly do the doctrines of Weſley and

(*c*) Ibid. (*d*) Strype, u. s. p. 236, 237.

Sellon,

Sellon, on the points of election, reprobation, and free-agency, chime in with the hot and muddy ideas of their Pelagian forefathers! I cannot help indulging a very ſuitable ſpeculation. What a delicious paſtor would Mr. Sellon in particular have made, to the Free-willers of Bocking, or Feverſham, had the æra of his nativity commenced about 200 years ſooner! He would have fed them, not, indeed, with knowledge and underſtanding, but, after their own hearts. His lack of learning, his being "an exotic without academical education," would have been no impediment to that piece of promotion: nay, the flock would have liked him the better for it; ſeeing, in their eſtimation, "learned men are the cauſe of great errors." The ſpirit of which maxim, aided by his blaſphemies againſt predeſtination, would have made him (next to Free-will itſelf) the very idol of the ſect.

O tibi præteritos referat ſi Jupiter annos!

Inſtead of being, as now, Mr. John Weſley's pack-horſe, you might have ſat up for yourſelf; and, as a reward for your meritorious denial of election, been elected Tub Orator to the Pelagians of Feverſham, or Bocking.

From ſuch ſamples, as hiſtory has recorded, of the vigour (not to ſay the rigour), with which Free-will men were proceeded againſt, in the days of Edward VI. under whom the reformation of the Church was accompliſhed, it neceſſarily and unanſwerably follows, that the Church herſelf was reformed from Popery to Calviniſm, and held thoſe predeſtinarian doctrines, which ſhe puniſhed (or, more properly, perſecuted) the Pelagians for denying.

The perſons who bore the main ſway in Church and State at the time laſt referred to, were the King, the duke of Somerſet, and archbiſhop Cranmer. Over and above the matters of fact, in which that illuſtrious triumvirate were concerned, and which

neither would nor could have been directed into ſuch a channel, had not thoſe perſonages been Doctrinal Calviniſts; there are alſo inconteſtible written evidences, to prove that they were, conſcientiouſly and upon inward principle, firm believers of the Calviniſtic doctrines. This ſhall be proved of Cranmer, in its proper place, when I come to treat of the Reformers. The ſame will ſufficiently appear, as to Somerſet, under the Section which is to treat of the influence which Calvin had on the Engliſh Reformation. The epiſtolary intimacy, which ſubſiſted between Calvin and Somerſet; the high veneration in which that foreign reformer was held by the latter; and the readineſs with which the firſt Liturgy was altered, in conſequence of the ſame reformer's application; plainly demonſtrate, that the duke of Somerſet, no leſs than his royal nephew king Edward, and good archbiſhop Cranmer, had (happily for the Church) heartily adopted Calvin's doctrine, though (no leſs happily) not proſelyted to Calvin's favourite form of eccleſiaſtical regimen. To theſe conſiderations let me add another, drawn from that moſt excellent prayer, written by himſelf, upon his being declared Protector of the Realm, and Governor of the King's Perſon during his Majeſty's Minority. It is entitled, "The Lord Protector's Prayer for God's Aſſiſtance in the high Office of Protector and Governor, new committed to him (*e*)." A man of the Duke's extraordinary piety can never be thought to trifle with God, and to prevaricate on his knees. The prayer itſelf, therefore, proves him to have been a Calviniſt. Part of it runs thus: "Lord God of hoſts, in whoſe only hand is life and death, victory and confuſion, rule and ſubjection; I am the price of thy Son's death; for thy Son's ſake thou wilt not leſe (i. e. loſe) me. I am a veſſel for thy mercy; thy juſtice

(*e*) See Strype's Repoſitory of Originals, annexed to the ſecond vol. of Eccleſ. Memor. p. 18.

will

will not condemn me. I am recorded in the book of life; I am written with the very blood of Jeſus; thy ineſtimable love will not then cancel my name: for this cauſe, Lord God, I am bold to ſpeak to thy Majeſty: thou, Lord, by thy providence, haſt called me to rule; make me therefore able to follow thy calling: thou, Lord, by thine order, haſt committed an anointed King to my governance; direct me therefore with thine hand, that I err not from thy good pleaſure: finiſh in me, Lord, thy beginning; and begin in me that thou wilt finiſh." When this illuſtrious peer fell, afterwards, a ſacrifice to the machinations and ſtate intrigues of Warwick (who, himſelf, within a ſhort time, paid dearly for his inſidiouſneſs and ambition), Somerſet, during his impriſonment in the Tower, and a little before his death, "tranſlated, out of French into Engliſh, an epiſtle wrote to him by John Calvin (on the ſubject), of Godly Converſation, which he received while under his confinement, and was printed at London (*f*)."

As to the Calviniſm of king Edward himſelf, every religious tranſaction of his reign ſets it beyond a doubt. The reformation of the Church upon the principles ſhe ſtill profeſſes, might ſuffice to comprehend all proofs in one: but this excellent prince was not content to eſtabliſh the Church of England; he himſelf voluntarily and ſolemnly ſubſcribed her Articles. "A book, containing theſe Articles, was ſigned by the King's own hand (*g*)." And Edward was too ſincere a Chriſtian, to ſign what he did not believe; a ſpecies of prevarication reſerved for the more accompliſhed iniquity of after-times; and which bids fair to end in the utter extirpation of all religion from amongſt us.

Neither would king Edward have honoured what is commonly called Ponet's Catechiſm (of which,

(*f*) Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 160. Edit. 1768.
(*g*) Strype's Eccleſ. Memor. vol. ii. p. 368.

more hereafter) with his own prefixed letters of recommendation, had his Majeſty not been a thorough Calviniſt: nor would he, juſt before the agonies of death came upon him, have ſet his ſeal, as he did, to the doctrine of election, had not that doctrine been an eſſential and predominant article of his faith. "Lord God (ſaid the royal ſaint, a little before he expired), deliver me out of this miſerable and wretched life, and take me among thy choſen (*b*)."

I unwillingly deſcend from one of the moſt wonderful and valuable princes that ever adorned a throne, to the meaneſt and moſt rancorous Arminian prieſt that ever diſgraced a ſurplice. How extreme, how immenſe the tranſition, from king Edward VI. to Mr. Walter Sellon! But I muſt let the reader ſee, in what way this factor for Methodiſm pretends to account for the Calviniſtic meaſures of king Edward's adminiſtration. Even thus: "Some rigid Calviniſts in power had impoſed upon that good young King, and made uſe of his authority to impoſe their notions upon the Church (Sell. p. 53)." A certain ſort of people ſtand in particular need of good memories. Mr. Sellon forſakes him in the very next page; where the "ſome rigid Calviniſts" are dwindled into one. "Up ſtarts rigid Ponet, and gets poor young king Edward, whom he had brought to his lure, to command all ſchoolmaſters within his dominions to teach the youth this catechiſm (Ibid. p. 54)." What is this, but calling "poor young king Edward" a poor young fool? An inſinuation as falſe and unjuſt to the real character of that extraordinary prince, as I ſhould be guilty of, were I to inſinuate that Mr. Sellon is a man of ſenſe, learning, and good manners. But ſuppoſing we ſhould, for a moment, admit (contrary to all fact and truth), that the "poor young King" was in-

(*b*) Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 212.

deed

deed a flexible piece of tape, which Ponet, biſhop of Wincheſter, could eaſily twiſt round his finger at pleaſure; yet, can it be imagined, that Ponet was an abſolute monopolizer of the tape royal? Was he the only haberdaſher who made property of the ſaid tape? Could not a ſoul beſide come in for a yard or two? Where (for inſtance) were Cranmer, and Ridley, and Hooper, and Latimer? Was it poſſible, that a tranſaction of ſuch conſequence to the Church of England, as the public ſanction of Ponet's Catechiſm, could take effect, without the participation and concurrence of the other Engliſh biſhops, and of the Convocation, and of the King's Council itſelf? Every reaſonable man will ſay no: beſides, however liable to impoſition "poor young king" Edward may be repreſented, by the Arminians of the preſent age, yet, ſurely, his Majeſty's next ſucceſſor but one (under whom that ſame Catechiſm was revived, and publiſhed with enlargements, by Dr. Nowell, dean of London) cannot be thought to have been very ſoft and pliable: but, I dare ſay, Mr. Sellon, by way of anſwer to this remark, will content himſelf with crying out, poor young queen Elizabeth!

King Edward was by no means that ductile, undiſcerning prince, for which Mr. Sellon's cauſe requires him to paſs. As this defamer, under the impulſe of his inſpirer, Mr. Weſley, has thought proper to faſten this obliquity on that King's memory, I ſhall give a ſhort ſummary of his character, drawn by the beſt authorities; and the rather, as Edward's reputation is very cloſely interwoven with the credit of the Church of England, which chiefly owes her preſent purity and excellence to the pious and paternal authority of that young, but moſt reſpectable Joſiah.

Biſhop Latimer had the honour to know him well; and no man was ever leſs prone to flatter, than that honeſt, unpoliſhed prelate. "Bleſſed (ſaid he)

is the land, where there is a noble king; where kings be no banqueters, no players, and where they ſpend not their time in hunting and hawking. And when had the King's majeſty a Council, that took more pains, both night and day, for the ſetting forth of God's word, and profit of the commonwealth? And yet there be ſome wicked people that will ſay (and there are ſtill ſome wicked Pelagians who continue to ſay), Tuſh, this gear will not tarry; it is but my Lord Protector's and my Lord of Canterbury's doing: the King is a child, and he knoweth not of it. Jeſu, have mercy! how like are we Engliſhmen to the Jews, ever ſtubborn, ſtiffnecked, and walking in bye ways! Have not we a noble King? Was there ever king ſo noble, ſo godly brought up, with ſo noble Counſellors, ſo excellent and well-learned ſchoolmaſters? I will tell you this, and ſpeak it even as I think; his Majeſty hath more godly wit and underſtanding, more learning and knowledge, at this age, than twenty of his progenitors, that I could name, had at any time of their life (*i*)."

Biſhop John Bale, the Antiquarian, could alſo ſpeak of the King upon perſonal knowledge; and his teſtimony is this: "He is abundantly repleniſhed with the moſt gracious gifts of God; eſpecially, with all kinds of good learning, far above all his progenitors, kings of this imperial region. The childhood of youth is not in him to be reproved; for ſo might king Joſiah have been reproved, who began his reign in the eighth year of his age." The occaſion of Bale thus vindicating king Edward, was the petulance of one whom he ſtyles "a frantic Papiſt of Hampſhire," who had inſolently termed his Majeſty, "a poor child:" which was much the ſame with Mr Sellon's contemptuous language of, "poor young king Edward." Mr. Strype, to whom

(*i*) Latimer's Sermons, vol. i. p. 89, 90. Octavo, 1758.

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I am indebted for the above quotation from Bale, goes on: "Then he (i. e. Bale) comes closer to this Papist, so blasphemously reporting the noble and worthy king Edward, then in the fifteenth year of his age, and the fifth of his reign." Bale added, "His (Majesty's) worthy education in liberal letters, and godly virtues, and his natural aptness in retaining of the same, plenteously declared him to be no poor child, but a manifest Solomon in princely wisdom (*k*)."

Even bishop Burnet offers the following chaplet at Edward's tomb: "Thus died king Edward VI. that incomparable young prince. He was then in the sixteenth year of his age, and was counted the wonder of that time. He was not only learned in the tongues, and other liberal sciences, but knew well the state of his kingdom. He kept a book, in which he writ the characters that were given him of all the chief men of the nation, all the judges, lord-lieutenants, and justices of the peace, over England; in it he had marked down their way of living, and their zeal for religion. He had studied the matter of the Mint, with the exchange and value of money, so that he understood it well, as appears by his journal. He also understood fortification, and designed well. He knew all the harbours and ports, both of his own dominions, and of France and Scotland; and how much water they had, and what was the way of coming into them. He had acquired great knowledge in foreign affairs, so that he talked with the ambassadors about them, in such a manner, that they (viz. the foreign ambassadors) filled all the world with the highest opinion of him that was possible; which appears in most of the histories of that age. He had great quickness of apprehension; and, being mistrustful of his memory, used to take notes of almost every

(*k*) See Strype's Eccles. Memor. vol. ii. p. 377, 378.

thing

thing he heard. He writ theſe, firſt, in Greek characters, that thoſe about him might not underſtand them: and, afterwards, writ them out in his journal. He had a copy brought him of every thing that paſſed in Council: which he put in a cheſt, and kept the key of that always himſelf. In a word, the natural and acquired perfections of his mind were wonderful. But his virtues and true piety were yet more extraordinary (*l*)."

Mountagu, biſhop of Wincheſter, in his Preface to the Works of king James I. makes very obſervable mention of Edward, conſidered even as a writer. "Edward the Sixt, though his dayes were ſo ſhort, as he could not give full proofe of thoſe ſingular parts that were in him; yet he wrote divers epiſtles and orations, both in Greek and Latin. He wrote a treatiſe *de fide*, to the duke of Somerſet. He wrote an hiſtory of his owne time. Which are all yet extant, under his owne hand, in the King's library, as Mr. Patrick Young, his Majeſtie's learned Bibliothecarius, hath ſhewed me. And, which is not to bee forgotten, ſo diligent an hearer of ſermons was that ſweet Prince, that the notes, of the moſt of the ſermons he heard, are yet to be ſeene, under his own hand; with the preacher's name, the time, and the place, and all other circumſtances (*m*)."

It were endleſs, to adduce the praiſes which have been deſervedly accumulated on this moſt able and moſt amiable Monarch. But I muſt not overpaſs the character given of him by Jerom Cardan, the famous Italian phyſician, who, the year preceding king Edward's death, ſpent ſome months in England. That foreigner, amidſt all his acknowledged oddities, was ſtill a perſon of very extraordinary genius and learning; ſo that his ability, to judge of

(*l*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reform. vol. ii. p. 212. & alibi.
(*m*) Bp. Mount. u. s. edit. 1616.

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the King's capacity and attainments, is indiſputable. And the conſideration of his being alſo a Papiſt, will not ſuffer us to ſuppoſe, that his encomiums have any mixture of party prejudice in this prince's favour. Moreover, Cardan wrote and publiſhed his teſtimony in a country, and at a time, which rendered it (*n*) impoſſible for him to have any ſiniſter intereſt in view. "All the Graces," ſays he, "were apparent in king Edward; and, for the tongues, he was not only exact in the Engliſh, French, and Latin; but underſtood the Greek, Italian, and Spaniſh. Nor was he ignorant of Logic, the principles of Natural Philoſophy, or Muſic: being apt to learn every thing. The ſweetneſs of his temper was ſuch as became a mortal; his gravity becoming the majeſty of a King; and his diſpoſition ſuitable to his high degree. In ſhort, that child was ſo bred, had ſuch parts, and was of ſuch expectation, that he looked like a miracle of a man. Theſe things are not ſpoken rhetorically, and beyond the truth; but are indeed ſhort of it. He began to love the liberal arts, before he knew them; to know them, before he could uſe them. And in him there was ſuch an effort of nature, that not only England, but the world, has reaſon to lament his being ſo early ſnatched away. How truly was it ſaid, of ſuch extraordinary perſons, that their lives are ſhort! He gave us an eſſay of virtue, though he did not live to give us a pattern of it. When the gravity of a king

(*n*) Cardan refuſed to offer the incenſe of (what he thought would have been) adulation, to king Edward, even in that prince's life-time, and during his (Cardan's) reſidence at the Engliſh Court. Much leſs would he be induced to fawn upon his memory. The philoſopher's conduct on that occaſion, though it reſulted from a miſtaken principle, reflects ſome honour on his integrity and diſintereſtedneſs. "I refuſed (ſays he), a purſe of five hundred pieces (ſome tell me, it was a thouſand; but I cannot aſcertain the preciſe ſum), becauſe I would not acknowledge one of the King's titles, in prejudice of the Pope's authority." See Bayle's Dict. vol. ii. p. 316. note (*D*).

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was needful, he carried himſelf like a man in years: and yet was always affable and gentle, as became his youth. In bounty he emulated his father, who in ſome caſes may appear to have been bad; but there was no ground for ſuſpecting any ſuch thing in the ſon, whoſe mind was cultivated by the ſtudy of Philoſophy (*o*)."

Mr. Guthrie's character of him is far from being exceſſive. The outlines of Edward's portrait, as drawn by the maſterly hand of that able Hiſtorian, ſhall terminate our preſent review of this great prince. "Henry VIII. was the Romulus, and Edward VI. the Numa Pompilius, of Engliſh Reformation. The former laid its foundation in blood and rapine; the latter reared its fabric, by juſtice and moderation. Learning is the moſt trifling part of Edward's character. The rod may make a ſcholar; but nature muſt form a genius. Edward had genius. His learning, indeed, was extraordinary; but in that he was equalled, if not excelled, by others of equal years, and of a different ſex. Perhaps his ſiſter Elizabeth, and his deſigned ſucceſſor, the lady Jane Gray, at his age, knew the languages better than he did. But Edward diſcovered a genius for government, beyond what, perhaps, ever was known in ſo early a bloom of life. He ſoon fell in with thoſe walks of knowledge, which lead to the glory and happineſs both of prince and people. He underſtood the principles of trade, and the true maxims which the Engliſh ought to purſue with foreign countries, to much greater perfection than any author who wrote at that time on thoſe ſubjects. The papers which remain in his writing, concerning a mart, and the reformation of abuſes, might be ſuſpected not to be of his compoſition, did we know of any perſon, in thoſe days, who could write ſo clearly and intelligibly, and, by conſequence, ſo elegantly.

(*o*) See the Acta Regia, p. 439. Edit. 1734.

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His Journal contains, ſo far as it goes, an account of all the important tranſactions falling within it; penned in ſuch a manner, as amply proves its author to have known the bottom of every ſubject he touches. His perpetual attention to commerce gave him, towards the end of his reign, a true notion of that conduct, which England ought to purſue, in thoſe diſputes upon the Continent, which endanger the balance of power there. It helped him to form great ſchemes for the improvement of his maritime force, for the ſecurity of his coaſts, for the protection of his ſhips; and, in his project of opening free marts in England, there is ſomewhat that points towards introducing a new and a better ſyſtem of mercantile affairs, than has yet, perhaps, been purſued. He acquired a taſte for elegant magnificence; and, in this, he ſeems to have been ſingle in his Court. His appearances, on public occaſions, were ſometimes, perhaps, too Eaſtern: but he ſeems to have corrected this extravagance, by ſtriking off a great deal of uſeleſs expence. Had Providence been ſo well reconciled to England, as to have indulged Edward in a longer reign, he had private virtue ſufficient to have brought private virtue once more into reputation: while his judgment was ſo ſtrong, as, at once, to re-animate, and employ the public ſpirit of his people. The application of this royal youth laid the corner-ſtones on which the commerce of England is founded, and which alone gives her the rank of a Queen among nations. It was his piety, that purged her religion from ſuperſtition; it was his good ſenſe, getting the better of his prejudices, that ſaved her poſſeſſions from ruin, and reſcued her Clergy from contempt. It was his example, which fired the young nobility and gentry of his own years, with that generous emulation, which puſhed them into every glorious purſuit, when their manly qualities, in a following reign (viz. in the reign of Elizabeth), raiſed their drooping country to glory and

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to empire. It is owing to Edward's compaſſion, that, at this day, in England's capital, the helpleſs orphan finds a father; that erring youth are provided with inſtruction; and that Heaven receives the ſounds of praiſe and gratitude from the mouth of the infant. His wiſdom prepared a check for the intemperate, and correction for the idle. His cares make gray hairs go down, without ſorrow, to the grave. His bounty embelliſhes thoſe places, which his charity endowed. And his own perſon was the habitation where love and learning, the graces and the virtues, delighted to dwell (*p*)."

Let me juſt add, that whoever has read king Edward's Treatiſe againſt the Supremacy of the Biſhops of Rome (publiſhed at London, in 1682), will ceaſe to be ſurprized at that admiration, with which the Engliſh hiſtorians celebrate the parts and piety of the royal author. The merits of that performance, in particular, are ſo tranſcendent, that a moſt ingenious acquaintance of mine once doubted, whether it was poſſible for ſo young a prince to be the compoſer of ſo learned and maſterly a work. But my friend (eminent for poſſeſſing one of the fineſt collections of natural and artificial curioſities, that ever fell to the lot of a private perſon) has been ſo happy as to add to his treaſures the original manuſcript, in Edward's own hand-writing; which places the authenticity of the book above diſpute.

Judge now, whether Edward, thus endued with the whole circle of princely qualifications, could be that weak, ſupple, facile, waxen image of a king, which Mr. Weſley's malice and Mr. Sellon's ignorance combine to repreſent. In trying at which, they not only violate all hiſtoric truth, but labour alſo to blacken the Church of England; by defaming the Proteſtant Monarch who was, under God, its father and viſible head: a monarch, who, like Alfred, was born for the

(*p*) Guthrie's Hiſt. of England, vol. iii. p. 1. 121—123.

good

good of mankind; and the luſtre of whoſe crown was eclipſed by the virtues of him that wore it. King Edward's being a Calviniſt, is the unpardonable crime for which Arminian Methodiſm ſeeks to lay his memory in the duſt. Under him it was, that the Engliſh Liturgy was compiled, reformed, and perfected; the Homilies compoſed; the Articles of Religion framed; and Ponet's Catechiſm drawn up: which two latter, viz. the Articles and the ſaid Catechiſm, "were in general received and ſubſcribed to, all over the kingdom (*q*)." Theſe were the crimes of Edward and his reforming biſhops; for which, Peter Heylin, John Weſley, and Walter Sellon, labour to heap odium on the beſt of princes and the beſt of prelates.

SECTION II.

Arminianiſm *charged and proved on the Church of* Rome.

MR. Sellon acknowledges his abſolute inequality to the taſk he has undertaken. "I know nothing at all," ſays he, "how to fence or puſh (*r*):" i. e. he can neither attack, nor defend. A very proper perſon to ſet up for a champion, and to ſtyle himſelf a vindicator! But there was no need of ſuch an explicit confeſſion. His production ſufficiently demonſtrates, that its producer can neither fence nor puſh. Witneſs the opening of his very firſt aſſault, in page 3, where I am preſented with a tierce, not of blunderbuſſes, but of blunders. "In that point," ſays the blunderer, "which you ſtickle ſo mightily for, viz. the doctrine of abſolute, irreſpec-

(*q*) Guthrie, u. s. p. 114. (*r*) Page 123.

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tive predeſtination, though all the members of the Church of Rome do not fall in with it, becauſe they are not compelled to it, as all the members of the Church of Geneva do, becauſe they are compelled to it; yet, if the teſtimony of Dr. Potter, ſome time dean of Windſor, be to be depended upon, there are ten Catholics that hold this point of Genevan doctrine, for one that is ſo much an Arminian as to deny it." Such a cluſter of glaring untruths deſerves no anſwer. By way, however, of ſhewing, what an honeſt and accurate opponent I have to deal with, I'll give the paragraph a thorough ſifting.

1. " All the members of the Church of Geneva are compelled to fall in with" the doctrine of predeſtination. So far is this from being true, that the doctrine itſelf, of predeſtination, has been expelled from Geneva, for very conſiderably more than half a century back. Geneva, which was, once, dreaded by Papiſts, as one of the head quarters of Calviniſm, and termed, by them, for that reaſon, " The Proteſtant Rome," is now, in that happy reſpect, Geneva no longer. The once faithful city is become an harlot. The unworthy ſon of one of the greateſt divines that ever lived (I mean Benedict, ſon, if I miſtake not, of the immortal Francis Turretin) was a principal inſtrument of this doctrinal revolution. And, to the everlaſting diſhonour of biſhop Burnet, he, during his exile, contributed not a little to the inroads of Arminianiſm at Geneva, by prevailing with the leading perſons there to aboliſh the teſt of miniſterial ſubſcriptions, about the year 1686 (*s*). After his return to England, and his advancement

(*s*) " He was much careſſed and eſteemed by the principal men of Geneva. He ſaw they inſiſted ſtrongly on their conſent of doctrine (a formulary commonly known by the name of the Conſenſus), which they required all thoſe to ſubſcribe, who were admitted into orders. He therefore employed all the eloquence he was maſter of, and

vancement to the epiſcopal bench, there is great reaſon to believe, that he would very willingly have played the ſame game here; and lain the Church of England under a ſimilar obligation to "his warmth and the weight of his character," by releaſing (to continue the language of his filial biographer) our clergy too from "the folly and ill conſequence of ſuch ſubſcriptions." But, through the goodneſs of Providence, the people of England were not ſuch implicit trucklers to his lordſhip's "eloquence and credit," as were the citizens of Geneva. No "alteration, in this practice," crowned his wiſh (*t*). The

and all the credit he had acquired among them, to obtain an alteration in this practice. He repreſented to them the folly and ill conſequence of ſuch ſubſcriptions. The warmth, with which he expreſſed himſelf on this head, was ſuch, and ſuch was the weight of his character, that the Clergy of Geneva were afterwards releaſed from theſe ſubſcriptions." Life of Burnet, annexed to his Hiſt. of his Own Time, page 692, 693. Fol. 1734.

(*t*) Biſhop Burnet, failing in his deſire of aboliſhing our Eccleſiaſtical ſubſcriptions, was forced to content himſelf with ſinging, to the tune of He would if he could, in theſe plaintive and remarkable words: "The requiring ſubſcriptions to the XXXIX Articles is a great impoſition." [Hiſt. O. T. 2. 634.] An impoſition, however, in which his lordſhip prudently acquieſced, and to which he was the means of making others ſubmit, rather than he would forego (to uſe an expreſſion of his own) the "plentiful biſhopric" of Sarum.

How much more diſintereſted and heroic was the conduct of that honeſt Arminian and learned Arian, Mr. William Whiſton! The account is curious: ſo take it in his own words. "Soon after the acceſſion of the Houſe of Hanover to the throne, Sir Joſeph Jekyl, that moſt excellent and upright maſter of the rolls, and ſincere chriſtian; Dr. Clark's and my very good friend, had ſuch an opinion of us two, that we might be proper perſons to be made biſhops, in order to our endeavouring to amend what was amiſs in the Church; and had a mind to feel my pulſe, how I would reliſh ſuch a propoſal, if ever it ſhould be made me. My anſwer was direct and ſudden, that I would not ſign the Thirty-nine Articles, to be archbiſhop of Canterbury. To which Sir Joſeph replied, that biſhops are not obliged to ſign thoſe articles. I ſaid, I never knew ſo much before. But ſtill, I added, if I were a biſhop, I muſt oblige others to ſign them, which would go ſorely againſt the grain with me. However, I added further, that ſuppoſing I ſhould get over that ſcruple, and eſteem the act only as miniſterial, which would

The time for the deſtruction of our eſtabliſhment was not yet come: and, I truſt in God, it is ſtill very far off. To the unſpeakable mortification of ſuch as Mr. Sellon, the fence is, hitherto, undemoliſhed. Should our governors in church and ſtate ever ſuffer the fence to be plucked down, farewell to the vineyard. But, till the barrier of ſubſcription (that ſtumbling-block to Arminians, who, nevertheleſs, for divers good cauſes them thereunto moving, make ſhift to jump over it) actually be taken out of the way, let no man of common knowledge or of common modeſty, call our Calviniſtic doctrines the tenets of Geneva. If it be any real honour, or diſhonour, to drink of the Lemain lake, the Arminians, as matters ſtand, have it all to themſelves.

2. Our author pompouſly appeals to the authority of "Dr. Potter, dean of Windſor." He ſhould have ſaid, dean of Worceſter. Potter was, indeed, promiſed a canonry of Windſor; but never obtained it (*u*). This Chriſtopher Potter, in the noviciate of

would by no means imply my own approbation; yet, when I were a biſhop, I ſhould certainly endeavour to govern my dioceſe by the Chriſtian rules in the Apoſtolical conſtitutions, and in St. Paul's Epiſtles to Timothy and Titus: which, as [namely, in this gentleman's opinion] they would frequently contradict the laws of the land, would certainly expoſe me to a præmunire, to the forfeiture of all my goods to the crown, and to impriſonment as long as the king pleaſed. And this, concluded I, would be the end of biſhop Whiſton. So I thought no more of it." Whiſton's Memoirs of his own Life and Writings, vol. i. p. 169.

(*u*) His letter to Laud, in which he ſupplicated the continuance of that prelate's intereſt, for his appointment to a ſtall in St. George's chapel, is worth tranſcribing.

"My moſt honoured Lord,

"I humbly thank your Grace for very many demonſtrations of your love to me: and particularly for your laſt favourable mediation to his Majeſty in my behalf, for a prebend in Windſor. The conveniency of that preferment (if my ſovereign maſter pleaſe to confer it upon me) I ſhall value more than the profit. But, however, I reſolve not to preſcribe to your Grace, much leſs to his Majeſtie; or, with immodeſty, or importunity, to preſs you. The obligations, which I have to you, are ſuch as I can never ſatisfy, but with my prayers:

of his miniſtry, had been lecturer of Abingdon, where he was extremely popular, and regarded as a zealous Calviniſt. But, as Wood obſerves, "when Dr. Laud became a riſing favourite in the Royal Court, he [Potter] after a great deal of ſeeking, was made his [Laud's] Creature (*x*)." The editor or editors of the Cambridge Tracts, publiſhed in 1719, affect to think (*y*), that Laud paid his court to Potter, inſtead of Potter's being a ſuitor to Laud. To me, Mr. Wood's account more than ſeems to prove the contrary. Beſides, the archbiſhop was eminently ſtiff and ſupercilious: but the lecturer was as remarkably ſupple and obſequious. The prelate could have very little advantage to hope for from the acquiſition of the lecturer: but the latter had much to hope for from the good graces of the prelate. I conclude therefore, that Potter was a cringer at Laud's levee, and, "after a great deal of ſeeking," i. e. in modern ſtile, after long attendance and much ſervility, being found very (*z*) ductile and obſequious,

prayers: which ſhall be conſtant, that your Grace may long live, with honour and comfort, to ſerve God, his Majeſtie, and this Church, which daily feels the benefit of your wiſdom and goodneſs. Your Grace's, in all humility.

See Cant. Doome. p. 356. CHR. POTTER."

Potter, however, was diſtanced in adulation, by the biſhop of Cork, in Ireland; who thus wrote to Laud: "What I had, or have, is of your Grace's goodneſs, under him who gives life, and breath, and all things; and under our gracious Sovereigne, who is the breath of our noſtrils." Ibid. p. 355.

(*x*) Athen. II. 44.

(*y*) See the Preface to thoſe Tracts.

(*z*) The ductility of our young divine will be put beyond all reaſonable doubt, by the letter that follows. He had, in his better days, unwarily written an anſwer to a Popiſh treatiſe, publiſhed by one Knott, a noiſy Jeſuit of that age. A ſecond edition of Potter's Anſwer was, it ſeems, called for, about, or ſoon after the æra of his connections with Laud. This furniſhed the author with a fair opportunity of complimenting that prelate, by requeſting his Grace to garble the book, and weed it of what offenſive paſſages he pleaſed, prior to the new impreſſion. On this occaſion, he thus addreſſed his patron:

quious, he was entered on the liſt of the archbiſhop's dependents.

Laud's plan of civil and religious tyranny is well known: and the only way for Potter to preſerve the favour he had taken ſo great pains to acquire, was, by a round recantation of the Calviniſtic doctrines; which were, at all events, to be diſcountenanced and ſmothered, as a neceſſary pre-requiſite to our union with Rome: an union which Heylin himſelf, once and again, frankly acknowledges to have been one of the grand objects in view (*a*).

To promote this deſign, and ſtill further to ingratiate himſelf with his patron, Potter writes a Treatiſe, entitled, A Survey of the New Platform of Predeſtination: the manuſcript copy of which fell into the hands of the learned Dr. Twiſſe, who gave himſelf the needleſs trouble of refuting it.

"My moſt honoured Lord, October 6, 1634.

"The copies of my Anſwer to The Miſtaker are moſt ſold, and a new impreſſion intended. I am now reviewing it. I ſhall be glad to receive from your Grace, by your ſervant, maſter Dell, any direction to alter, or correct, if any thing therein be offenſive to you. I humbly commend your Grace to the bleſſed protection of the Lord Almighty; and will be ever

Your Grace's, in all humility,

Cant. Doome, p. 251. CHR. POTTER."

His Grace did, accordingly, with his own hand, purge the book of ſeveral paſſages which, in his judgment, bore too hard on the Pope and Church of Rome; and, the very next year, this Potter (for not being made of too ſtiff clay) was appointed dean of Worceſter.

(*a*) But why was the revival of Popery one of the grand objects at that time? The cauſe is eaſily traced. King Charles, indiſputably, aimed at arbitrary power. To this end, Popery muſt be revived, not for its own ſake, but as the moſt convenient prop to deſpotiſm. And no method either ſo effectually, or ſo expeditiouſly, conducive to the firm erection of this prop, as the introduction of Arminianiſm. Theſe were the three conſtituary ſegments of that political circle, into which the Court and Court Biſhops, that then were, wiſhed to conjure the Proteſtants of England. Or, if you pleaſe, ſuch was the plan of that goodly pillar, which was to be erected, as a trophy, on the grave of departed liberty. Arminianiſm was to have been the baſe; Popery the ſhaft; and tyranny the capital that ſhould terminate the whole.

Upon

Upon the credit of this renegado Calviniſt and pretended dean of Windſor (*b*), we are told,

3. That

(*b*) Mr. Sellon ſeems to have been led into this miſtake, reſpecting Potter's deanery, by the title page prefixed to a letter of Potter's, preſerved in the Cambridge Tracts already mentioned. A proof, by the way, of the accuracy and faithfulneſs with which thoſe Tracts were compiled. A proof, moreover, of the many inconvenient ſtumbles, to which ſuch writers as Mr. Sellon are expoſed, who content themſelves with borrowing their information from indexes and title pages.

I have, above, ſtiled Dr. Potter a renegado. Such, in outward profeſſion at leaſt, he certainly was; and ſuch, no doubt, Laud eſteemed him to be. But, after all his tergiverſation, the Abingdon lecturer does not appear to have embraced Arminianiſm *ex animo* and upon principle. Like the magnetic needle when diſturbed, he ſeems to have been in a ſtate of continual vibration, uneaſy till he recovered his primitive direction to the good, old, Calviniſtic point. This I infer from his own words. In that very letter to which Mr. Sellon carries his appeal; in that very letter which underwent the neceſſary corrections and alterations of the good Cambridge Arminians who flouriſhed in the year 1719; even in that letter of Chriſtopher Potter, pruned and amended as aforeſaid, I find the following paſſages. "You are affected," ſays he, to his friend Vicars (who had charged him, and not temeariouſly, with inconſtancy in matters of religion), "you are affected with a ſtrong ſuſpicion, that I am turned Arminian: and you further gueſs at the motive; that ſome ſprinkling of Court holy water, like an exorciſm, hath enchanted and conjured me into this new ſhape." The virtue of Court holy water, is doubtleſs very efficacious, as an alterative. No tranſformations, recorded in Ovid, can vie with the ſtill more wonderful Metamorphoſes, which this potent ſprinkling hath occaſioned both in patriots, politicians, and divines. Potter's correſpondent had exactly hit the mark. It was indeed the application of Court holy water, judiciouſly ſprinkled by the hand of Laud, which had made Chriſtopher caſt his ſkin, and come forth, in appearance, a ſleek Arminian. But, when hard puſhed by honeſt Mr. Vicars, he was aſhamed (as well he might) to ſet his avowed *probatum eſt* to the powerful virtues of the ſaid water. And how did he parry off the charge? Even by denying himſelf to be an Arminian at all. His words are theſe: "I deſire you to believe, that I neither am, nor ever will be Arminian. I love Calvin very well; and, I muſt tell you, I cannot hate Arminius. I can aſſure you, I do not depart from my ancient judgment; but do well remember what I affirmed in my queſtions at the act, and have confirmed it, I ſuppoſe, in my ſermon; ſo, you ſee, I am ſtill where I was." The queſtions, which he here alludes to, and which had been maintained by him at the Oxford act in the year 1627, were theſe three: *Efficacia grâtiæ non*

3. That "there are ten Papiſts, who hold the doctrine of predeſtination, for one that denies it." Every man who knows what Popery is; every man, who is at all acquainted either with the antient or preſent

pendet à libero influxu arbitrii; Chriſtus Divinæ Juſtitiæ, vice noſtrâ, propriè & integrè ſatisfecit; ipſe actus fidei, τὸ credere, non imputatur nobis in juſtitiam ſenſu proprio: i. e. "the efficacy of Grace is not ſuſpended on the free influence of man's will; Chriſt did ſtrictly and completely ſatisfy God's juſtice in our room and ſtead; the act of believing is not, itſelf, properly imputed to us for righteouſneſs." In his farther vindication of himſelf from the charge of Arminianiſm, Potter makes very honourable mention of ſeven predeſtinarian divines, whom (let the reader mark it well) he terms the "worthieſt doctors" of the churches of England, France, and Germany. Nay (let Mr. Sellon hear it, and weep), he even ſtiles the Arminians, what indeed they are, diſſenters from our own National Church. "The Arminians," continues he, "diſſent from us only in theſe four queſtions [viz. concerning Predeſtination, Redemption, Grace, and Perſeverance]. The Lutheran Churches maintain againſt us all theſe four queſtions, and moreover a number of notable dreams and dotages, both in matters of ceremony and doctrine: among others, you remember their abſurd ubiquity and conſubſtantiation. Now, notwithſtanding all their [i. e. the Lutherans] foul corruptions, yet I preſume you know, for it is apparent out of public records, that our better reformed Churches in England, France, Germany, &c. by the advice of their worthieſt doctors, Calvin, Bucer, Beza, Martyr, Zanchius, Urſin, Pareus, have ſtill offered to the Lutherans all chriſtian amity, peace and communion: though thoſe virulent, fiery adders of Saxony" [i. e. the Lutheran divines] "would never give ear to the voice of thoſe wiſe charmers." In the mature judgment, therefore, even of Potter himſelf, Calvin, Zanchius, and the other five, were wiſe charmers, and our worthieſt doctors. Let us next hear what the ſame gentleman thought concerning Mr. Sellon's favourite doctrine of election upon faith and works foreſeen. "Can you deny," continues he, "that many learned, pious Catholic biſhops of the old church taught predeſtination for foreſeen faith or works? and ſuppoſe them herein to have erred, as, for my part, I doubt not but they did; though upon other grounds, than the bare aſſertion of Calvin, Beza, or Senenſis; yet can you deny, that, notwithſtanding this error and others, they were then, and ſtill ſince, accounted holy Catholic biſhops?" He adds: "I reſolve never to be an Arminian, and ever to be moderate." For the above paſſages, ſee the Cambr. Tr. from p. 230 to p. 244.

The Reader, perhaps, may think, that I have thrown away too much time on this Dr. Potter. I did it to ſhew, on what flimſy props Mr. Sellon reſts the weight of his cauſe. At the very utmoſt, the doctor was a kind of amphibious divine. In theſe matters,

Laud

preſent ſtate of that Church; muſt conſider ſuch an aſſertion, as the moſt falſe and daring inſult that can be offered to common ſenſe. Have not the doctrines, called Calviniſtic, been condemned in form, and

Laud ſeems to have had no great reaſon to boaſt of him as a proſelyte; any more than Mr. Weſley's friend Wat has to truſt him as a referee. This will appear farther, from another very remarkable paſſage, occurring in a ſermon, preached by this ſame Dr. Potter, at the conſecration of his uncle Barnaby to the ſee of Carliſle. I give the quotation, on the credit of the editors of the above letter. The paſſage itſelf is this: "For our controverſies, firſt let me proteſt, I favour not, I rather ſuſpect any new inventions; for *ab antiquitate non recedo niſi invitus*: eſpecially renouncing all ſuch" [viz. all ſuch new inventions] "as any way favour or flatter the depraved nature and will of man, which I conſtantly believe to be free only to evil, and of itſelf to have no power at all, merely none, to any act or thing ſpiritually good. Moſt heartily embracing that doctrine, which moſt amply commends the riches of God's free grace, which I acknowledge to be the whole and ſole cauſe of our predeſtination, converſion, and ſalvation: abhoring all damned doctrines of the Pelagians, Semipelagians, Jeſuits, Socinians, and of their rags and reliques; which help only to pride and prick up corrupt nature: humbly confeſſing, in the words of St. Cyprian (ſo often repeated by that worthy champion of grace, St. Auguſtin), *in nullo gloriandum eſt, quandoquidem noſtrum nihil eſt.* It is God that worketh in us both the will and the deed: and therefore let him, that glorieth, glory in the Lord." Cambr. Tr. p. 226, 227.

I cannot help thinking (for human nature is prone to ſpeculate) how dextrouſly Dr. Potter played his game; and how neatly Dr. Laud, though a knowing one, was taken in. The former (if we are to believe his own ſolemn proteſtations) had ſtill very ample mental reſerves in favour of Calviniſm: while the latter ſuppoſed him a ſincere convert to Arminianiſm, and promoted him accordingly.—This reminds me of another very famous inſtance of worldly wiſdom. The elder Voſſius publiſhed, in the year 1618, a learned Hiſtory of Pelagianiſm. Wherein (ſay the compilers of the Biogr. Dict. vol. ii. p. 317.) "he affirmed, that the ſentiments of St. Auſtin, upon grace and predeſtination, were not the moſt antient; and that thoſe of the Remonſtrants [i. e. of the Arminians] were different from thoſe of the Semipelagians." This book delighted Laud ſo much, that, at his earneſt recommendation, Charles I. made its author a prebendary of Canterbury, with permiſſion to reſide ſtill in Holland. Seems it not a little ſtrange, that, rather than a vigorous effort in favour of Arminianiſm ſhould paſs unrewarded, a prelate, of ſuch high principles as Laud, ſhould obtain a ſtall, in the metropolitan church of all England, for one who was, by birth, a German, and, by education and connection, a Dutch Preſbyterian? There was, indeed,

and the aſſertors of them pronounced accurſed, by the Council of Trent? Did any man ever read a ſingle Popiſh book of controverſy, written within a century after the Reformation, in which the Proteſtants are not univerſally charged (as we ſtill are by the Arminians) with making God the author of ſin, only becauſe they univerſally held predeſtination? And, for the modern Popiſh books of controverſy, I have hardly ſeen one, in which the writers of that communion do not exult, and impudently congratulate the Church of England on her viſible departure from thoſe doctrines. And, God knows, the Church of Rome has, in this reſpect, but too much reaſon for triumph. Many nominal Proteſtants are ſaving Papiſts the trouble of poiſoning the people, by doing it to their hands. What Heylin quotes, from a Jeſuit who wrote in the time of Charles I. is in great meaſure, true of the preſent times: "the doctrines are altered in many things: as for example, the Pope not Antichriſt; pictures; free-will; predeſtination; univerſal grace; inherent righteouſneſs; the merit" [which Heylin ſoftens into, or reward rather] of good works. The Thirty-nine Articles ſeeming patient, if not ambitious alſo, of ſome Catholic ſenſe; *limbus patrum*; juſtification not by faith alone, &c. (*c*)."

no preferment, to which Voſſius's merits, as a ſcholar, did not entitle him: his learning and virtues, however, would never have cleared his way to Canterbury cathedral, had he not contributed to the advancement of that new ſcheme, which Laud had ſo deeply at heart. But what will the reader ſay, ſhould he be told, that, after all, Laud was miſtaken as to the ſincerity of Voſſius's Arminianiſm? Take the account, in the words of Dr. Potter abovementioned: "He" [i. e. Voſſius] "hath declared himſelf, in his laſt book, *De Scriptoribus*" [I ſuppoſe, it ſhould be *Hiſtoricis*] "*Latinis*, to be of St. Auguſtin's mind in theſe queſtions" [viz. concerning predeſtination and grace]; and is allowed, by the ſtates, public profeſſor at Leyden, where no Arminian is tolerated." Cambr. Tr. p. 237. So convenient is it, on ſome certain occaſions, for a divine to look (like Janus, or like the Germanic eagle) two ways at once!

(*c*) Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 238

The

The Thirty-nine Articles themſelves are neither patient nor ambitious of what the Jeſuit called a Catholic ſenſe. How patient, or even ambitious, of a Popiſh ſenſe, ſome of the ſubſcribers to thoſe Articles may be, is another point. Stubborn experience and inconteſtable fact oblige us to diſtinguiſh, with Dr. South, between the doctrines of the Church, and of ſome who call themſelves churchmen.

Studious as I am of brevity, I cannot diſmiſs the ſhameleſs objection, drawn from the pretended Popery of Calviniſm, without additional animadverſion. The ſlander does, indeed, carry its own refutation ſtamped upon its forehead: which refutation the following detail of facts may ſerve to confirm.

I ſhall demonſtrate, in its proper place, that the principles of John Wickliff, and of his celebrated proſelyte John Huſs, were the ſame with what have ſince acquired the name of Calviniſtic. An extract from the bull of pope Martin V. fraught with anathemas againſt the memories of thoſe holy men, and publiſhed A. D. 1418, will evince the deteſtation and the alarm, with which the attempted revival of theſe doctrines was received by the Church of Rome. Some of the Articles, againſt which his Holineſs inveighed ſo fiercely, were as follow (*d*):

"There is one only univerſal Church, which is the univerſity" [or entire number] "of the predeſtinate. Paul was never a member of the Devil, although" [before his converſion] "he did certain acts like unto the acts of the church malignant."

"The reprobate are not parts of the" [inviſible] "Church; for that no part of the ſame finally falleth from her: becauſe the charity" [or grace] "of predeſtination, which bindeth the Church together, never faileth."

"The reprobate, although he be ſometimes in grace according to preſent juſtice" [i. e. by a preſent

(*d*) Fox's Acts & Mon. vol. i. p. 739. Edit. 1684.

appearance

appearance of outward righteouſneſs], "yet is he never a part of the Holy Church" [in reality]: "and the predeſtinate is ever a member of the Church, although ſometime he fall from grace *adventitiâ*, but not from the grace of predeſtination: ever taking the Church for the convocation of the predeſtinate, whether they be in grace or not, according to preſent juſtice." i. e. whether they be converted already, or yet remain to be ſo, the predeſtinate, or elect, conſtitute, as ſuch, that inviſible Church, which God the Father hath choſen, and God the Son redeemed.

"The grace of predeſtination is the band, wherewith the body of the Church, and every member of the ſame, is indiſſolubly joined to Chriſt their Head."

Nothing can be more innocent and ſcriptural than theſe poſitions. But the religion of the Bible is not the religion of Rome. Hence, in the bull above mentioned, the Pope thus fulminates againſt thoſe doctrines and their abettors: "certain arch heretics have riſen and ſprung up, not againſt one only, but againſt divers and ſundry documents of the Catholic faith: being land-lopers, ſchiſmatics, and ſeditious perſons; fraught with deviliſh pride and wolviſh madneſs, deceived by the ſubtilty of Satan, and, from one evil vanity, brought to a worſe. Who, although they roſe up and ſprang in divers parts of the world, yet agreed they all in one, having their tails as it were knit together; to wit, John Wickliff of England, John Huſs of Bohemia, and Jerom of Prague, of damnable memory, who drew with them no ſmall number to miſerable ruin and infidelity. We, therefore, having a deſire to reſiſt ſuch evil and pernicious errors, and utterly root them out from amongſt the company of faithful Chriſtians, will and command your diſcretions, by our letters apoſtolical, that you that are archbiſhops, biſhops, and other of the clergy, and every one of you by himſelf, or by any other or others, do ſee that all and ſingular perſons,

ſons, of what dignity, office, pre-eminence, ſtate, or condition ſoever they be, and by what name ſoever they are known, who ſhall preſume, obſtinately, by any ways or means, privily or apartly, to hold, believe, and teach the articles, books, or doctrine of the foreſaid arch-heretics, John Wickliff, John Huſs, and Jerom of Prague; that then, as before, you ſee and cauſe them and every of them to be moſt ſeverely puniſhed; and that you judge and give ſentence upon them as heretics, and that, as arrant heretics, you leave them to the ſecular court or power. Furthermore we will and command, that, by this our authority apoſtolical, ye exhort and admoniſh all the profeſſors of the Catholic faith, as emperors, kings, dukes, princes, marquiſſes, earls, barons, knights, and other magiſtrates, rectors, conſuls, proconſuls, ſhires, countries, and univerſities of the kingdoms, provinces, cities, towns, caſtles, villages, their lands and other places, and all other executing temporal juriſdiction, that they expel out of their kingdoms, provinces, cities, towns, caſtles, villages, lands and other places, all and all manner of ſuch heretics; and that they ſuffer no ſuch, within their ſhires and circuits, to preach, or to keep either houſe or family, or to uſe any handy-craft or occupations, or other trades of merchandize, or to ſolace themſelves any ways, or to frequent the company of Chriſtian men. And furthermore, if ſuch public and known heretics ſhall chance to die, let him and them want Chriſtian burial. His goods and ſubſtance alſo, from the time of his death, according to the canonical ſanctions, being confiſcate; let no ſuch enjoy them to whom they appertain, 'till, by the Eccleſiaſtical judges, ſentence upon his or their crime of hereſy be declared and promulgate." The reader, who is deſirous of peruſing the whole of this bull, may ſee it in Fox, vol. i. from p. 737 to 742. But the ſample here given, may ſuffice to ſhew that Calviniſm appeared as dreadful to the eyes of Popery,

pery, as it can to thoſe of John Weſley or Walter Sellon.

The ſee of Rome reliſhed theſe doctrines no better, in the century that followed. Three years after the riſe of Martin Luther, another flaming bull was iſſued, againſt that reformer, by Leo X. of this bull, theſe were ſome of the roarings: "Riſe up, O Lord, and judge thy cauſe, for foxes are riſen up, ſeeking to deſtroy thy vineyard. Riſe up, Peter, and attend to the cauſe of the holy Church of Rome, the mother of all churches; againſt which, falſe liars have riſen up, bringing in ſects of perdition, to their own ſpeedy deſtruction, whoſe tongue is like fire, full of unquietneſs, and repleniſhed with deadly poiſon; who, having a wicked zeal, and nouriſhing contentions in their hearts, do brag and lie againſt the verity. Riſe up, Paul, alſo: we pray thee, who haſt illuminated the ſame Church with thy doctrine and martyrdom, for now is ſprung up a new porphiry, who, as the ſaid porphiry did then unjuſtly ſlander the holy Apoſtles, ſo ſemblably doth this man" [meaning Luther] "now ſlander, revile, rebuke, bite, and bark againſt the holy biſhops, our predeceſſors. Finally, let all the holy univerſal Church riſe up, and, with the bleſſed Apoſtles, together make interceſſion to Almighty God, that the errors of all ſchiſmatics being rooted up, his holy Church may be conſerved in peace and unity. We, for the charge of our paſtoral office committed unto us, can no longer forbear, or wink at the peſtiferous poiſon of theſe foreſaid errors; of which errors, we thought good to recite certain here, the tenor of which is as followeth." A long catalogue of pretended hereſies is then given: among which, are theſe two:

In every good work the juſt man ſinneth.

Freewill, after ſin [i. e. ever ſince original ſin], is a title and name only [i. e. a mere empty word, without reality or foundation in truth].

On

On theſe and the other articles aſſerted by Luther, pope Leo thus continues to deſcant: " all which errors, there is no man in his right wits, but he knoweth the ſame, in their ſeveral reſpects; how peſtilent they be, how pernicious, how much they ſeduce godly and ſimple minds, and, finally, how much they be againſt all charity, and againſt the reverence of the holy Church of Rome, the mother of all faithful, and miſtreſs of the faith itſelf; and againſt the ſinews and ſtrength of Eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, which is obedience, the fountain and well-ſpring of all virtues, and without which every man is eaſily convicted to be an infidel. Wherefore, by the counſel and aſſent of the ſaid our reverend brethren, upon due conſideration of all and ſingular the premiſes; by the authority of Almighty God, and of the bleſſed apoſtles Peter and Paul, and by our own, we do condemn, reprove, and utterly reject all and ſingular the articles or errors aforeſaid, reſpectively: and, by the tenor hereof, we here decree and declare, that they ought of all Chriſtian people, both men and women, to be taken as damned, reproved, and rejected. And therefore forbidding here, under pain of the greater curſe and excommunication; loſing of their dignities, whether they be eccleſiaſtical or temporal; and to be deprived of all regular orders and privileges; alſo of loſing their liberties to hold general ſchools, to read and profeſs any ſcience or faculty; of loſing alſo their tenures and feoffments, and of inability for ever to recover the ſame again, or any other; moreover, under pain of ſecluding from Chriſtian burial, yea and of treaſon alſo: we charge and command all and ſingular Chriſtian people, as well of the laity, as of the clergy, that they ſhall not preſume, publicly or privately, under any manner of pretence or colour, colourably or expreſsly, or how elſe ſoever, to hold, maintain, defend, preach, or favour the foreſaid errors, or any

of

of them, or any ſuch perverſe doctrine (*d*)." This inſtrument, of which I have hardly retailed the tenth part, is dated June 15, 1520.

Honeſt Luther laughed at this Eccleſiaſtical thunder and lightening. He publiſhed an anſwer, whoſe purport did equal honour to his integrity and intrepidity. "A rumour reached me," ſays the adamantine reformer, "that a certain bull was gone forth againſt me, and circulated almoſt over the world, before I had ſo much as ſeen it: though, in right, it ought to have been tranſmitted firſt and directly to my hands, I being the particular object at whom it was levelled." The fact was, the Pope's bull (ſomewhat like Mr. Weſley's abridgment of Zanchius) was, as Luther expreſſes it, of the owl or bat kind: it flew about ſurreptitiouſly and in the dark. *Noctis & tenebrarum filia, timet lucem vultus mei*, ſays Luther; *hunc tamen ipſam noctuam vix tandem, multem adjuvantibus amicis, in imagine ſuâ datum eſt videre:* "this bird of night ſought to elude my view; the owl was, however, though with ſome difficulty, caught by my friends, and brought to me, that I might ſurvey the creature in its proper form." I do," adds Luther, "hold, defend, and embrace, with the full truſt of my ſpirit, thoſe articles condemned and excommunicated in the ſaid bull: and I affirm, that the ſame articles ought to be held of all faithful Chriſtians under pain of eternal malediction; and that they are to be counted for Antichriſts, whoſoever have conſented to the ſaid bull: whom I alſo, together with the ſpirit of all them that know the truth, do utterly deteſt and ſhun. And let this ſtand for thy revocation, *O bulla, verè bullarum filia*, O thou bull, which art the very daughter of all vain bubbles (*e*)." The Pope got nothing by ſtigmatizing Luther with hereſy and ſchiſm. The German reformer treated the

(*d*) Fox, vol. ii. p. 537—541.
(*e*) See Fox, ibid. p. 541, & ſequ.

Italian

Italian pontiff with no more ceremony than, come out, thou aſs-headed Antichriſt; is not thy whoriſh face aſhamed? I am far from applauding the violence of Luther's temper, and from approving the coarſeneſs of his language. But the good man was heated; and, I ſuppoſe, thought it needful, on ſome occaſions, to anſwer fools according to their folly, leſt they ſhould be wiſe in their own conceit.

SECTION III.

The Judgment of the Council of Trent, *concerning the Doctrines called* Calviniſtic.

LUTHER died in the year 1546. The firſt ſeſſion of the Council of Trent had been held in the year preceding. After many and long adjournments, infinite wrangling, chicanery and intrigue, the Council broke up for good, A. D. 1563. During theſe eighteen years, five pontiffs, ſucceſſively, occupied the Roman chair; viz. Paul III, Julius III, Marcellus II, Paul IV, and Pius IV. The acts paſſed by this Council, in the courſe of their five and twenty ſeſſions, moſt glaringly demonſtrate that Church's unabated abhorrence of the Calviniſtic doctrines. Nay, if Petavius is to be believed (and, on a ſubject of this ſort, there is no reaſon to queſtion the teſtimony of that learned Jeſuit), the Council of Trent was called together, as much on Calvin's account as on Luther's: the condemnation of thoſe (*f*) two reformers (whoſe doctrine, concerning predeſtination, was one and the ſame) being, according to that hiſtorian, one of the main objects in view. I ſlightly touched on the tridentine deciſions, in my

(*f*) Vide *Petavii Rationar. Temp.* Par. 1. l. 9. cap. 12. ſub init.

former

former vindication of the Church of England. I ſhall, here, conſider them more diffuſively. The decrees of the Council of Trent are the genuine, avowed, indiſputable ſtandard of Popery. From them I extract the enſuing paſſages. Whoever reads them, will at once ſee, that Arminianiſm is the central point wherein Popery and Pelagianiſm meet.

" If any one ſhall affirm, that man's free-will, moved and excited of God, does not, by conſenting, co-operate with God the mover and exciter, ſo as to prepare and diſpoſe itſelf for the attainment of juſtification; if, moreover, any one ſhall ſay, that the human will cannot refuſe complying, if it pleaſes; but that it is unactive, and merely paſſive; let ſuch an one be accurſed (*g*).

" If

(*g*) *Si quis dixerit, liberum hominis arbitrium, à Deo motum & excitatum, nihil co-operari aſſentiendo Deo excitanti atque vocanti, quo, ad obtinendam juſtificationis gratiam, ſe diſponat ac præparet, neque poſſe diſſentire ſi velit, ſed veluti inanime quoddam nihil omninò agere, merèque paſſivè ſe habere; Anathema ſit.* Conc. trid. ſeſs. vi. canon 4. p. 40. My edition is that of Paris, 1738.

Si quis liberum hominis arbitrium, poſt adæ peccatum, amiſſum & extinctum eſſe dixerit, aut rem eſſe de ſolo titulo, imo titulum ſine re, figmentum denique à Satanâ invectum in Eccleſiam; Anathema ſit. Ibid. can. 5. *** This fifth canon was particularly levelled at the memory of Luther, who had aſſerted, in ſo many words, that, ever ſince the fall, freewill is *res de ſolo titulo*; yea, *titulus & nomen ſine re.*

Si quis dixerit, opera omnia, quæ ante juſtificationem fiunt, quacunque ratione facta ſint, verè eſſe peccata, vel odium Dei mereri, &c. *Anathema ſit.* Ibid. can. 6.

Si quis dixerit, ſolâ fide impium juſtificari, & nullâ ex parte neceſſe eſſe eum ſuæ voluntatis motu præparari atque diſponi; Anathema ſit. Ibid. can. 9.

Si quis dixerit, homines juſtificari vel ſolâ imputatione juſtitiæ Chriſti, vel ſolâ peccatorum remiſſione, excluſâ gratiâ & charitate quæ in cordibus eorum per Sp. S. diffundatur atque in illis inhæreat; aut etiam gratiam, quâ juſtificamur, eſſe tantùm favorem, Dei; Anathema ſit. Ibid. can. 11.

Si quis dixerit, fidem juſtificantem nihil aliud eſſe quàm fiduciam divinæ miſericordiæ, peccata remittentis propter Chriſtum; vel eam fiduciam ſolam eſſe, quâ juſtificamur; Anathema ſit. Ibid. can. 12.

Si

" If any one ſhall affirm, that, ſince the fall of Adam, man's freewill is loſt and extinguiſhed; or, that it is a thing merely titular, yea, a name without a thing, and a fiction introduced by Satan into the Church; let ſuch an one be accurſed.

" If any one ſhall affirm, that all works done before juſtification, in what way ſoever they are done, are properly ſins, or deſerve the diſpleaſure of God, &c. let ſuch an one be accurſed.

Si quis dixerit, hominem renatum & juſtificatum teneri ex fide ad credendum, ſe certò eſſe in numero prædeſtinatorum; Anathema ſit. Ibid. can. 15.

Si quis magnum illud uſque in finem perſeverantiæ donum ſe certò habiturum abſolutâ & infallibili certitudine dixerit; Anathema ſit. Ibid. can. 16.

Si quis juſtificationis gratiam non niſi prædeſtinatis ad vitam contingere dixerit; reliquos verò omnes qui vocantur, vocari quidem, ſed gratiam non accipere, utpote divinâ poteſtate prædeſtinatos ad malum; Anathema ſit. Ibid. can. 17.

Si quis dixerit, Dei præcepta homini etiam juſtificato, & ſub gratiâ conſtituto, eſſe ad obſervandum impoſſibilia; Anathema ſit. Ibid. can. 18.

Si quis hominem ſemel juſtificatum dixerit amplius peccare non poſſe, neque gratiam amittere, atque ideò eum qui labitur & peccat nunquam verè fuiſſe juſtificatum; — — — Anathema ſit. Ibid. can. 23.

Si quis dixerit, juſtitiam acceptam non conſervari, atque etiam augeri, coram Deo, per bona opera; ſed opera ipſa fructus ſolummodò & ſigna eſſe juſtificationis adeptæ, non autem ipſius augendæ cauſam; Anathema ſit. Ibid. can. 24.

Si quis dixerit, juſtos non debere pro bonis operibus quæ in Deo fuerint facta, exſpectare & ſperare æternam retributionem à Deo, per ejus miſericordiam & Jeſu Chriſti meritum, ſi benè agendo & divina mandata cuſtodiendo, uſque in finem perſeveraverint; Anathema ſit. Ibid. can. 26.

Si quis dixerit, hominis juſtificati bona opera ità eſſe dona Dei, ut non ſint etiam bona ipſius juſtificati merita; aut, ipſum juſtificatum, bonis operibus, quæ ab eo per Dei gratiam, & Jeſu Chriſti meritum, cujus vivum membrum eſt, fiunt non verè mereri augmentum gratiæ, vitam æternam, & ipſius vitæ æternæ, ſi tamen in gratiâ deceſſerit, conſecutionem, atque etiam gloria augmentum; Anathema ſit. Ibid. can. 32.

Theſe and the other canons and decrees of this Antichriſtian ſynod, down to the ſeventh ſeſſion incluſive, are refuted, by the great Calvin, with admirable force, conciſeneſs, and perſpicuity, in a tract of his, entitled, *Acta Syn. Trid. cum Antidoto:* firſt publiſhed A. D. 1547, and ſince inſerted into his *Tractat Theologici*, reprinted together in 1612.

" If any one ſhall ſay, that the ungodly is juſtified by faith only, and that it is by no means neceſſary that he ſhould prepare and diſpoſe himſelf by the motion of his own will; let ſuch an one be accurſed.

" If any one ſhall affirm, that men are juſtified, either by the imputation of Chriſt's righteouſneſs alone, or by a mere" [i. e. gratuitous] " remiſſion of ſins, to the excluſion of inherent grace and charity ſhed abroad in their hearts by the Holy Spirit; or ſhall ſay, that the alone bounty of God is the grace by which we are juſtified; let ſuch an one be accurſed.

" If any one ſhall affirm, that juſtifying faith is no more than a reliance on the mercy of God as forgiving our ſins for the ſake of Chriſt; or that we are juſtified by ſuch a reliance only; let ſuch an one be accurſed.

" If any one ſhall affirm, that a regenerate and juſtified man is bound to believe that he is certainly in the number of the elect; let ſuch an one be accurſed.

" If any one ſhall affirm, with poſitive and abſolute certainty, that he ſhall ſurely have the great gift of perſeverance to the end; let him be accurſed.

" If any one ſhall affirm, that the grace of juſtification does not accrue to any, but to thoſe who are predeſtinated unto life; and that all the reſt" [viz. all who are not predeſtinated to life] "are called, indeed, but do not receive grace, on account of their being predeſtinated to evil; let ſuch an one be accurſed.

" If any one ſhall affirm, that the laws of God are impoſſible to be kept even by ſuch as are juſtified and in a ſtate of grace; let him be accurſed." [By keeping the laws of God, the Church of Rome evidently means a ſinleſs obedience.]

" If

"If any one ſhall affirm, that the man, who is once juſtified, cannot thenceforth ſin" [i. e. ſo ſin, as to periſh finally], "nor loſe grace; and, conſequently, that he who falls and ſins" [viz. unto death] "was never really juſtified; let ſuch an one be accurſed.

"If any one ſhall affirm, that good works do not preſerve and increaſe juſtification; but that good works themſelves are only the fruits and evidence of juſtification already had; let ſuch an one be accurſed.

"If any one ſhall affirm, that the righteous, if they endure to the end by well-doing and keeping God's precepts, ought not, through God's mercy and Chriſt's merits, to expect and look for an eternal recompence for thoſe good works which they have wrought in God; let ſuch an one be accurſed.

"If any one ſhall affirm, that the good works of a juſtified man are ſo the gifts of God, as not to be, at the ſame time, the merits of the juſtified perſon himſelf; or that the juſtified perſon does not himſelf merit increaſe of grace, eternal life, and an increaſe of glory, by thoſe good works which he performs through God's grace and Chriſt's merits, that is to ſay, if he die in a ſtate of grace; let ſuch an one be accurſed."

And now, what opinion can the reader form of Mr. Sellon's veracity? Muſt not he, who dares to inſinuate that "predeſtination is held by ten Papiſts out of eleven," be either a man of no reading, or a man of no truth? Admit the firſt, and he is too mean for contempt. Admit the laſt, and he is too bad for correction.

"But, it may be, the Church of Rome, in the preſent century, differs from the Church of Rome in the year 1563." By no means. The members of that Church are, for the moſt part, true and ſteady to her principles. Would to God I could ſay as much concerning the members of our own. By

continuing the hiſtorical chain, we ſhall quickly and clearly ſee, that Popery and Arminianiſm have been, ever ſince, as good friends, as they were in the days of Wickliff, or at the breaking up of the Council of Trent. I ſhall give two famous inſtances. The conduct of the Romiſh Church toward Janſenius; and, more recently, toward father Queſnell, will plainly ſhew, that Popery and Calviniſm are as far from ſhaking hands as ever.

SECTION IV.

The Arminianiſm of the Church of Rome *farther evinced, in her Treatment of* Janſenius *and* Queſnell.

CORNELIUS JANSSEN, biſhop of Ypres, flouriſhed about fifty years after the diſſolution of the above execrable ſynod. Though born of Popiſh parents, and converſant with Papiſts all his life, it pleaſed God to open the eyes of this prelate, in ſuch a manner, as gave the moſt ſerious alarm to the friends of Rome; and with a ſucceſs, which has, probably, lain the baſis of a future reformation in the Church of France. This great man, naturally of a ſtudious turn, applied himſelf, with peculiar diligence, to the works of Auſtin. On reading them carefully, he ſaw, and was ſurprized to ſee, how enormouſly the Church, which calls herſelf Catholic, had deviated from the ſyſtem of that ancient father, whom, nevertheleſs, ſhe has juſtly honoured with the titles of ſaint, and doctor of grace; and to whoſe authority, ſhe has, often, been ſo audacious, as to carry her appeal. Many of the enlightened clergy and laity, of our own Church, can eaſily form a judgment of Janſenius's feelings on this occaſion, by the aſtoniſhment, which themſelves have experienced, when,

when, on a careful review of her admirable Liturgy, Articles, and Homilies, they firſt began to diſcern the vaſtneſs of that doctrinal chaſm, which ſevers her real from her reputed ſons.

The farther Janſenius advanced, the more he read, prayed, and reflected, the deeper and the clearer was his conviction of the general apoſtacy from truth. Yet, determined to make no raſh concluſions, and reſolved to have firm ground for every ſtep he took, he devoted more than twenty years to the momentous enquiry. He went through the whole works of the voluminous father, ten times. Thoſe parts of them, which profeſſedly treat of grace, predeſtination, and free-will, he read thirty times over: making ſuch large and laborious extracts from thoſe valuable writings, as, when properly arranged, and digeſted into a regular ſynopſis, might aſcertain the doctrine of St. Auſtin, concerning theſe points, beyond all poſſibility of doubt.

In a world like the preſent, but eſpecially in thoſe parts of it where Popery is the reigning ſuperſtition, it is, often, extremely difficult, to connect integrity with prudence. The man, who will be honeſt, muſt run ſome riſque. Janſenius, having been ſent on a kind of academic embaſſy, to negotiate ſome buſineſs of importance with the Spaniſh king, in favour of the univerſity of Louvain, the good fathers of the inquiſition appeared extremely deſirous to ſacrifice Janſenius to the manes of Pelagius. Probably, during his reſidence in Spain, Janſſen might have rendered himſelf ſuſpected of hereſy, by talking too freely in favour of predeſtination, and by imprudently hinting, how much he wiſhed to ſee his Church really eſpouſe the principles of that ſaint, whoſe works ſhe pretended to revere as oracles. However this was, the inquiſitors were alarmed; and actually applied to Baſil de Leon, at whoſe houſe he had lodged, to furniſh them with ſuch materials againſt him, as might juſtify their citing him before the tribunal of

the Holy Office. But, by the bleſſing of Providence on the courage and addreſs of Baſil, the riſing ſtorm was diſpelled; and Janſenius, then lately returned to Flanders, continued unmoleſted in his college: from whence, a few years after, he was (not for his religious, but for his ſecular ſervices) raiſed to the mitre. In his conſecration to the ſee of Ypres, the Romaniſts have had the mortification to behold an heretical biſhop of an infallible Church. Nay, he was the very biſhop, by the impoſition of whoſe hands cardinal Bellamine himſelf received the order of prieſthood. Misfortunes theſe, which the zeal of the good Spaniſh inquiſitors would willingly have rendered impoſſible, by laying the axe to the root in due ſeaſon.

Let no reader imagine, that I am either blind to the dark parts of this eminent prelate's conduct, or willing to conceal them. Intimidated, very probably, by the narrowneſs of his eſcape in Spain, Janſenius did not venture to publiſh his collections from St. Auſtin. Nay, (ſuch is man!) he even waged a paper war with the Proteſtants of Holland, and ſought to retrieve his character at Rome, by ridiculouſly attempting to prove, that the doctrine of grace maintained by Auſtin, was not that doctrine of grace maintained by Calvin. To ſuch wretched ſhifts, and palpable contradictions, are even great and good men reduced, when they have not a ſufficient portion of intrepidity, to aſſert the truth at all events. And what did he gain, by this duplicity? What all trimmers deſerve, and moſt of them meet with: hatred and contempt. His memory is execrated by the general voice of the Romiſh Church, who have, without ſcruple, branded hereſy on his name, and whoſe bigotry would not ſuffer his very (*b*) tomb to be left ſtanding

(*b*) Mr. Bayle, from Leydecker gives the following account of the demolition of Janſenius's monument. "Francis de Robes," who ſucceeded Janſſen in the biſhopric of Ypres, "cauſed the tomb-ſtone

ſtanding in his own cathedral of Ypres. For, his valuable Excerpta from St. Auſtin, which he had not the courage to publiſh himſelf, appeared within two years after his deceaſe: and raiſed ſuch a ferment among the Papiſts, particularly in France and Flanders, as all the arts and efforts of infallibility knew not how to lay. Light ſhone in darkneſs; and the darkneſs comprehended it not. She, who affects to pride herſelf on being the "centre of unity," found herſelf agitated with all the diſcord and diſtractions of a chaotic war. The book aſſerted, from St. Auſtin, that "there are no remains of purity or goodneſs, in human nature, ſince the fall: that the influence of grace is irreſiſtible: and that, in the work of converſion and ſanctification, all is to be aſcribed to grace, and nothing to human nature. On the contrary, the Jeſuits maintained, as they ſtill do" [would to God that Jeſuits were the only ones], "that human nature is far from being deprived of all power of doing good; and that man, born free, may reſiſt the operations of grace (*i*);" i. e. ſo reſiſt them, as to render them eventually ineffectual.

"In the year 1641," continues the laſt cited hiſtorian, "the Jeſuits, adding to their arguments the intereſt they had at the Court of Rome, got the book 'Auguſtinus' prohibited by the Inquiſition; and,

ſtone of his predeceſſor to be taken away ſilently by night, on which were written the praiſes of his virtue and learning, and, particularly, of his book intitled Auguſtinus." The epitaph, it ſeems, imported, that "this moſt faithful interpreter of St. Auguſtin's moſt ſecret thoughts, had employed, upon that work, a divine wit, an indefatigable labour, and all the time of his life;" adding, that "the Church would receive the fruit of it upon earth, as he did the reward of it in heaven." Words theſe, which were not only totally incompatible with the deciſions of the Council of Trent; but moreover, as Mr. Bayle obſerves, "Injurious to the bulls of pope Urban VIII. and Innocent X. who had condemned that book." He adds, that "the deſtruction of the grave-ſtone was made by an expreſs order of pope Alexander VII." Bayle's Dict. vol. iii. p. 548.

(*i*) Bower's Hiſt. of the Popes, vol. vii. p. 480.

the following year, ſolemnly condemned by the Pope, as reviving the errors which his predeceſſors had baniſhed." This pope was Urban VIII. His ſucceſſor, Innocent X. went ſtill farther in his oppoſition to the ſynopſis of St. Auſtin; for he condemned, "By a bull, dated May 31, 1653, the five following propoſitions, ſelected, by the Jeſuits, out of Janſenius's Auguſtinus, as the moſt proper to diſcredit that work. Theſe propoſitions were,

"I. There are divine precepts which good men, notwithſtanding their deſire to obſerve them, are abſolutely unable to obey, &c.

"II. No perſon, in this corrupt ſtate of nature, can reſiſt the influence of divine grace.

"III. In order to render human actions (*k*) meritorious or otherwiſe, it is not requiſite that they be exempt from neceſſity, but only that they be free from conſtraint.

"IV. The Semipelagians admitted preventing grace to be neceſſary to every" [good] "action; and their hereſy conſiſted in this, that they allowed the human will to be indued with a power of reſiſting that grace, or of complying with its influence (*l*).

(*k*) Janſenius was, certainly, a man of too great penetration, and too well verſed in the theory of conſequences, not to know that abſolute grace cuts up human merit by the roots. But, being determined to keep up ſome appearance of attachment to the Roman ſee, that theſe truths, he ventured to aſſert, might have the wider and ſecurer ſpread among the people of that communion; he found, or thought he found it needful, to open their eyes by degrees, and not pour too much light upon them at once. He contented himſelf, therefore, on ſome occaſions, with eſtabliſhing certain premiſes, from whence, indeed, certain concluſions naturally and neceſſarily follow; but which he prudently left to the illation of his diſciples. This was ſhrewd; but all the candour in the world cannot call it honeſt.

(*l*) The learned Maſtricht cites this fourth propoſition with a little variation: *Semipelagiani admittebant prævenientes gratiæ interioris neceſſitatum ad ſingulos actus, etiam ad initium fidei; & in hoc erant hæretici, quòd vellent, eam gratiam talem eſſe cui poſſet humana voluntas reſiſtere, vel obtemperare.* Operum, p. 1176. *Amſtel.* 1724.

"V. Who-

" V. Whoever ſays, that Chriſt died, or ſhed his blood, for all mankind, is a Semipelagian.

" The condemnation" [of theſe propoſitions] " afforded great matter of triumph to the Jeſuits (*m*):" and no wonder; for, that artful order of men know but too well, that nothing ſo effectually bars out Popery, as the belief of thoſe doctrines, by whatever name they are called: whether we term them Auſtiniſm, or Janſeniſm; Calviniſm, or Church-of-Englandiſm.

Sir Paul Rycaut, in his continuation of Platina, gives us the very words, in which each of the above five propoſitions were reſpectively condemned. A conſiſtory of cardinals and divines being called, and the Pope himſelf preſiding in perſon at the board; the propoſitions were reprobated in manner and form following (*n*): We pronounce the firſt of theſe propoſitions to be preſumptuous, blaſphemous, heretical, and condemned with a curſe; and, as ſuch, we condemn it accordingly. The ſecond alſo we pronounce to be heretical; and, as ſuch, we condemn it. The third we pronounce heretical; and we condemn it as ſuch. The fourth we condemn, as falſe and heretical. The fifth, as importing that Chriſt died for the ſalvation of thoſe only who were elected, we pronounce to be falſe, preſumptuous, ſcandalous, impious, blaſphemous, ſcurrilous, derogatory to the goodneſs of God, and heretical; and, as ſuch, we condemn it.

Pope Alexander VII. who ſucceeded Innocent X. " not only confirmed, at the inſtance of the Jeſuits,

(*m*) *Bower*, u. ſ. page 482.

(*n*) *Primam temerariam, impiam, blaſphemam, anathemaie damnatam, & hæreticam, declaramus, & uti talem condemnamus. Secundam hæreticam declaramus, & uti talem damnamus. Tertiam hæreticam declaramus, & uti talem damnamus. Quartem falſam & hæreticam declaramus, & uti talem damnamus. Quintam falſam, temerariam, ſcandaloſam, & (intellectam eo ſenſu, ut Chriſtus pro ſalute duntaxat prædeſtinatorum mortuus ſit) impiam, blaſphemam, contumelioſam, divinæ pietati derogantem, & hæreticam, declaramus, & uti talem damnamus.* Rycaut's Lives of the Popes, p. 318.

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the bull of Innocent, condemning the five propoſitions, mentioned above; but, by a new bull" [dated A. D. 1657], "declared that the ſaid propoſitions were the doctrines of Janſenius, and were contained in his book; and that they had been condemned in the obvious ſenſe, and in the ſenſe of their author; *in ſenſu obvio, in ſenſu ab auctore intento.* Nay, the Jeſuits procured, by their intereſt in cabinet-councils, a mandate from Louis XIV." [of France], "commanding all, within his dominions, to receive a formulary, or confeſſion of faith, in which, the doctrine, condemned by the Pope, was owned to be the doctrine contained in the book of Janſenius, ſtyled Auguſtinus. They, who refuſed to ſign that formulary, were deprived of their livings, and either caſt into priſon, or ſent into exile (*o*)."

This perſecution of Janſenius's numerous diſciples (for his book had opened the eyes of multitudes) was both ſevere and laſting. The truths, which he had brought to light, were, at all events, to be ſtifled and exterminated, as opening a door to Proteſtantiſm, and as ſhaking the very foundations of the infallible Church. Hence, in France, where Janſenius's formidable book had made moſt havoc amongſt Catholics, the abjuration of the five propoſitions was exacted, not only from all the ſecular clergy, but even from every monk, nun and friar, who was not willing to undergo the opprobrium and penalties of hereſy. Nay, the very laity of the ſeveral dioceſes were not excuſed from abjuring theſe reputed and real doctrines of Calviniſm (*p*): which, however, could not extirpate the party of Janſenius; who ſubſiſt, in vaſt numbers, to this day, and are ſuſ-

(*o*) Bower, ubi ſupr. p. 484.

(*p*) "The aſſembly of the clergy, in the years 1660, 1661, and 1664, ordered all perſons to ſubſcribe the formulary. Which being confirmed by the King's declaration, all the eccleſiaſtics, monks, nuns, and others, in every dioceſe, were obliged to ſubſcribe: thoſe who refuſed, being interdicted and excommunicated." Biographical Diction. vol. vii. p. 17.

pected

pected (not without reaſon) of only waiting a favourable opportunity of entirely ſhaking off the papal yoke. The bread of ſound doctrine, which the biſhop of Ypres has caſt upon the waters, will, I doubt not, be found after many days. In vain did pope Clement XIII. by his bull, dated July 15, 1705, renew the fulminations of his predeceſſors, by declaring, that "the faithful ought to condemn, as heretical, not only with their mouths, but in their hearts, the ſenſe of Janſen's book contained in the five propoſitions (*q*). In vain did the ſame pontiff deal out his anathemas, A. D. 1713, againſt the ſame five propoſitions of Janſenius, and againſt the hundred and one propoſitions extracted from father Queſnell. The papal fulminations, though launched by pretended infallibility, and ſeconded by all the real power of the civil arm, have not been able to eradicate the good ſeed ſown by Janſenius in France and Flanders. It is true, the ſeed is, at preſent, and has been from the firſt, under the harrow of perſecution: inſomuch that, in France eſpecially, it is far leſs dangerous to be taken for an Atheiſt, than for a Janſeniſt. Truth, however, at the long run, will and muſt prevail. It is more than probable, that, in ſome future period, Janſenius (as having laid the firſt ſtone) will be conſidered as the virtual reformer of France. I have dwelt, thus largely, on the violent efforts of the Romiſh Church to extinguiſh the minuteſt glimmerings of Calviniſm; the more clearly to demonſtrate, either the utter ignorance, or the criminal unfairneſs, of Mr. Sellon, which induced him to aver, that the Calviniſtic ſyſtem is the ſyſtem of the Church of Rome, and embraced by ten Papiſts out of eleven.

I have already obſerved, that, ſo low down as the year 1713, the hundred and one propoſitions, extracted from the writings of Queſnell, were con-

(*q*) Biogr. Dict. ibid. p. 18.

demned

demned at Rome, as the very quinteſſence of hereſy. Some of theſe propoſitions (for I have not room to recite them all) were as follow:

"The grace of Jeſus Chriſt, the efficacious principle of all good, is neceſſary to every good action.

"The difference between the Jewiſh and the Chriſtian Covenant" [i. e. the difference between the law and the goſpel], "lies in this: that, in the former, God requires the ſinner to avoid ſin and to fulfil the law, leaving him, at the ſame time, in his ſtate of inability; whereas, in the latter, God gives the ſinner that which he commands, by purifying him with his grace.

"How great is the happineſs, to be admitted into a covenant, wherein God confers upon us that which he requires of us!

"Grace is an operation of the Almighty hand of God, which nothing can hinder or retard.

"When God willeth to ſave a ſoul, the undoubted effect always and every where followeth the will of God.

"When God accompanies his command and external word, with the unction of his ſpirit and the internal power of his grace; it then works in the heart that obedience which it requires.

"All thoſe, whom God willeth to ſave by Jeſus Chriſt, are infallibly ſaved.

"Faith, the uſe, the increaſe, and the reward of faith, are all a gift of the pure bounty of God.

"What is the Church, but the congregation of the children of God, adopted in Chriſt, redeemed by his blood, living by his ſpirit, acting by his grace, and expecting the grace of the world to come?

"The Church is compoſed of all the elect and juſt of all ages."

Theſe truly ſcriptural propoſitions are, among the reſt, recited in the bull Unigenitus, above mentioned; and there ſtand anathematiſed by the Church of Rome in theſe very words: "We do, by this our conſtitution,

conſtitution, which ſhall be of perpetual force and obligation, declare, condemn, and reject, reſpectively, all and every one of the propoſitions before recited, as falſe, captious, ſhocking, offenſive to pious ears, ſcandalous, pernicious, raſh, injurious to the Church" [i. e. to the Romiſh Church] " and her practice; contumelious, not only againſt the Church, but likewiſe againſt the ſecular powers; ſeditious, impious, blaſphemous, heretical, and manifeſtly reviving ſeveral hereſies. Whoſoever ſhall teach, defend, or publiſh them, or any of them, jointly or ſeparately; or ſhall treat of them by way of diſpute, either publicly or privately, unleſs it be to impugn them; ſhall, *ipſo facto*, without any other declaration, incur the cenſures of the Church, and all other penalties appointed by the law againſt ſuch delinquents (*r*)." Is it poſſible for the Church of Rome to execrate and abjure Calviniſm in ſtronger terms? And is it poſſible for words to convey clearer and more ſolid proof, that Popery and Arminianiſm are (ſo far as theſe points are concerned) one and the ſame? And is it poſſible for impudence itſelf to forge a more flagrant untruth, than by ſaying, that Arminianiſm is not Popery, and that ten Papiſts out of eleven hold predeſtination? Well may the author of the Confeſſional (than whom, with all his miſtakes, ſcarce any age has produced a more keen and nervous reaſoner) make the following juſt and inconteſtable remark: " Our firſt reformers framed and placed the Thirty-nine Articles, and more particularly thoſe called Calviniſtical, as the ſureſt and ſtrongeſt barriers to keep out Popery (*s*)."

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(*r*) See the bull Unigenitus, prefixed to Ruſſel's tranſlation of Queſnell on the N. T. vol. i.

(*s*) Confeſſional, p. 331. Edit. 3. What immediately follows the above citation, I here throw into a note, becauſe, though too important to be entirely omitted, it yet does not directly pertain to the argument I am upon. " A Proteſtant divine," adds this maſterly writer, " may poſſibly have his objections to the plain ſenſe of theſe articles"

In conſequence of the above papal fulmination, Queſnell (whoſe crime only conſiſted in his having a little more ſpiritual light than moſt of his brethren) was, firſt, baniſhed from Paris; then, thrown into a dungeon at Bruſſels, from whence, after almoſt four months impriſonment, he found means to make his eſcape into Holland, where he died A. D. 1719, after an exile of about fifteen years. The bull itſelf, by which his 101 propoſitions were condemned, is to this very day, ſo ſtrictly enforced in France, that the clergy of that kingdom (though, generally, leſs bigotted than the clergy of other Popiſh countries) will not adminiſter the laſt offices to a dying perſon, until he has ſolemnly declared his deteſtation of the doctrines which thoſe propoſitions contain. What a front, then, muſt Mr. Sellon have, to inſinuate, that ten Papiſts, out of eleven, hold the doctrine of grace; when, even in France, where Popery ſits much lighter than in any other unreformed nation, not a ſingle Papiſt, though lying on the bed of death, is permitted to receive the ſacrament, until he has, with his dying breath, diſavowed the doctrine of predeſtination in all its branches.

Let me further aſk the calumniator, whether he ever knew a ſingle perſon, who, from being a doctrinal Calviniſt, was perverted to the Church of Rome? But I myſelf have known ſeveral Arminians, who were carried over to Popery with very little difficulty; and, from being half-Proteſtants, eaſily commenced complete Romaniſts (*t*). Aſk your friend and

articles" [i. e. to the plain ſenſe of the Calviniſtic articles of the Church of England]; "but in this caſe, he ought not to ſubſcribe them at all. For if he can bring himſelf to aſſent and to ſubſcribe them in a Catholic" [i. e. in a Popiſh-Arminian] "ſenſe, I would deſire to know what ſecurity the Church has, that he does not put the like Catholic ſenſe (with which he may be furniſhed by the Jeſuits) upon thoſe articles which concern tranſubſtantiation and purgatory?"

(*t*) How natural and eaſy the tranſition is, from Arminianiſm to avowed Popery, is evident, among others, from the examples of Bolſec

and dictator, Mr. John Wesley, whether numbers of his followers have not, from time to time, gone off to the

Bolsec and Bertius, abroad; and, at home, from those of William Barrett, and Godfrey Goodman, bishop of Glocester.

Jerom Bolsec was, originally, a Carmelite friar of Paris. From motives either of conscience, or of secular interest, he forsook his order; and, leaving France, made open profession of the Protestant religion. Among other places, he went, says Bayle, "to Geneva, as a physician; but, finding that he did not distinguish himself to his satisfaction in that profession, he set up for divinity; and dogmatized, at first, in private, on the mystery of predestination, according to the principles of Pelagius, and afterwards had the boldness to make a public discourse against the received opinion. As soon as his conversation with certain persons, to infect them with his Pelagianism, was known, Calvin went to see him, and censured him mildly: afterwards, he sent for him to his house, and endeavoured to reclaim him from his error. But this did not hinder Bolsec from delivering in public, an insulting discourse against the decree of eternal predestination. It is thought, that he was the bolder because he imagined that Calvin was not among his auditors. He had such a thought, because he did not see him [sitting] in his [usual] place. The reason was, Calvin, not coming in till after the discourse was begun, kept himself hid behind the crowd." (Bayle's Hist. Dict. vol. ii. art. Bolsec). Mr. Samuel Clark, a pious, learned, and laborious writer of the last century, informs us (see his Marrow of Ecclesiastical History, part i. p. 298, 299), that Bolsec delivered this harangue, October 16, 1551, taking for his text, these words, "He that is of God, heareth the words of God: whence he took occasion to preach up free-will, and that predestination was out of works foreseen." Calvin himself (see Bayle, ut supr.) in a letter which he wrote to the Swiss churches, says, that among other things asserted by Bolsec, on the above, or a similar occasion, the wretch spoke to this effect: that "men do not therefore obtain salvation, because they are elected; but are therefore elected, because they believe; and that no man is reprobate by the bare decree of God, but only those who deprive themselves of the common election." Being, after several fruitless efforts to reclaim him, banished from Geneva, he retired into the territory of Bern; where, says Mr. Clark, "he was the cause of many and great stirs." After being twice expelled from thence, on account of his turbulent behaviour, he returned into France; and, "presently after, when he saw the [French] churches under affliction, he fell back to Popery, loading the reformed Churches with many reproaches." Thus did this man's tenets of free-will, conditional predestination, universal grace, and salvation by works, ripen him for a relapse to the church of Rome.

Those principles had the same effect on Peter Bertius. He was an intimate friend, and devoted admirer of Arminius. This gradually

the mother of abominations? particularly, in Briſtol: where, I have been credibly informed, the Romiſh prieſts

dually prepared him for his ſubſequent apoſtacy to Popery. Arminius died the 19th of October, 1609. And who ſo fit to deliver his funeral oration (or, in modern language, to preach his funeral ſermon), as his good friend and coadjutor Bertius? Preached by him it accordingly was, on the 22d of the ſame month, which was the day of Arminius's interment. And, to this very hour, the ſaid funeral oration (notwithſtanding the orator's revolt to the Church of Rome a few years after) ſtands prefixed to all the editions of Arminius's works, which I have ever ſeen: as if Popery and Arminianiſm were fated to be inſeparable. I do not recollect to have met with the exact æra of Bertius's declaring himſelf a Papiſt. But, in the collection of archbiſhop Uſher's Letters, annexed to his Life by Dr. Parr, I find the following paragraph, in a letter from Dr. Ward to that prelate: "Your lordſhip was partly acquainted with a buſineſs which I had undertaken, to anſwer one chapter of [cardinal] Perron's lateſt work, ſet out after his deceaſe. Since that time, Petrus Bertius, the remonſtrant [i. e. the Arminian], is turned Roman Catholic, and hath undertaken the tranſlation of that whole book into Latin." This letter is dated September 25, 1622. In one from biſhop Uſher, to the ſame Dr. Ward (who was maſter of Sidney college, Cambridge, and ſucceeded biſhop Davenant in the Margaret profeſſorſhip of divinity), the excellent prelate tells him, "I do very well approve the judgment of them, who adviſed you to handle the controverſies mentioned in that chapter of cardinal Perron's book, which Bertius pretendeth to have been the principal motive of his verifying the title of his old book, *Hymenæus Deſertor*. His oration of the motives to his perverſion, I ſaw, before I left England: than which, I never yet did ſee a more ſilly and miſerable diſcourſe proceed from the hands of a learned man." Let. l. and liii. p. 82, and 85. Thus eaſy, quick, and ready, is it to paſs, from the religion of James Arminius, to that of cardinal James Davy du Perron!

A ſadly memorable inſtance, of the ſame kind, happened, in our land, ſome years after. Godfrey Goodman, the unworthy biſhop of Glouceſter, who had long ſwam with Laud in almoſt every meaſure that conduced to the extenſion of Arminianiſm, Civil tyranny, and Eccleſiaſtical pomp, at length declared, in his laſt will, that he died "in the faith and communion of the mother Church of Rome." But I diſmiſs ſo ſhocking an event, with that obſervation of the Apoſtle: "They went out from us, but they were not of us; for, if they had been of us, they would, doubtleſs, have continued with us." Yet muſt I ſubjoin the remark of Echard: "As this was the only apoſtate Engliſh biſhop, ſince the reformation; ſo he was the only one, who left children to beg their bread." Ech. Hiſt. of Engl. vol. ii. p. 782.

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prieſts cry him up (not without reaſon) as a very moderate and a very uſeful man (*u*).

SECTION V.

The Objection, drawn from the ſuppoſed Calviniſm of Thomas Aquinas, *refuted: with a Word concerning* St. Auſtin.

BUT, it ſeems Auſtin and Aquinas were "two champions for predeſtination:" and "their names," I am farther told, "have as much weight, in the Church of Rome, as they have with (*x*)" the vicar of Broad Hembury. I am apt to think, that Mr. Sellon's acquaintance, either with St. Auſtin's

The caſe of William Barrett, fellow of Gonville and Caius college, Cambridge, is well known. I have, already, given a ſketch of his hiſtory, and taken notice of his revolt to Popery, in my former pamphlet, entitled, The Church of England vindicated from the charge of Arminianiſm, p. 48, &c.

(*u*) Many ſpecimens might be given of Mr. Weſley's lax Proteſtantiſm. Among them, every conſiderate reader muſt rank the following paragraph: "Juſtification by works is not the fundamental doctrine of Popery; but the univerſality of the Romiſh Church, and the ſupremacy of the biſhop of Rome. And to call any one a Papiſt, who denies theſe, is neither charity nor juſtice" (page the 9th of a twopenny tract, written by Mr. John Weſley, and entitled, A Letter to a Gentleman at Briſtol, 1758). According to this reaſoning, a man may hold tranſubſtantiation, eccleſiaſtical infallibility, purgatory, image worſhip, invocation of ſaints and angels, &c. &c. and yet be a good Proteſtant all the while! The French clergy (for inſtance) who put a query on the Pope's ſupremacy, but are (or, at leaſt, generally profeſs themſelves to be) ſtiff Romaniſts in moſt other points, cannot, in Mr. Weſley's eſtimation, be with "charity and juſtice," conſidered as Papiſts! Does not ſuch a bare-faced conceſſion look as if the conceder himſelf was fearful (and upon very good grounds) leſt, without a prudent caveat of that kind, the charge of Popery might fall heavy on ſomebody elſe?

(*x*) Sellon, p. 3.

writings, or with thoſe of Aquinas, is, at beſt, extremely ſlender. However, his bare mention of thoſe foreign names may ſerve to give Mr. Weſley's old women an huge idea of "brother Sellon's purdigious larning."

Whatever may be ſaid for the truly admirable biſhop of Hippo; it is certain, that the ingenious native of Aquino was by no means a conſiſtent predeſtinarian. He had, indeed, his lucid intervals: but, if the Arminians ſhould find themſelves at a loſs for quibbles, I would recommend to them a diligent peruſal of that laborious hair-ſplitter; who will furniſh them, in their own way, with many uſeful and neceſſary quirks, without the aſſiſtance whereof, their ſyſtem had, long ago, loſt its hold even on the prejudiced and the ſuperficial.

Of all Aquinas's numerous writings (which are ſaid to amount to 17 folio volumes), I have only his *Summa Theologiæ*, and his Commentaries on the Goſpels, and St. Paul's Epiſtles. To collect all the Semi-pelagian paſſages, with which thoſe two performances are fraught, would be a taſk equally prolix and unprofitable. My citations, therefore, ſhall be few and ſhort: but ſuch as may ſuffice to evince, that this ſcholaſtic Papiſt does, in many material points reſpecting the preſent argument, ſhake hands from his grave, with his younger brethren, the modern Arminians. "The Book of Life," ſays he, "is the enrolment of thoſe who are ordained to life eternal. Whoever is in preſent poſſeſſion of grace, is, by virtue of that very poſſeſſion, deſerving of eternal life. This ordination, however, ſometimes fails: for, ſome people are ordained to have eternal life, by the" [inherent] "grace they poſſeſs; which eternal life, they, notwithſtanding, come ſhort of, by the commiſſion of deadly ſin. They who are appointed to life eternal, not by God's predeſtination, but only through the grace" [they are partakers of], "are ſaid to be written in the Book of Life, not abſolutely,

lutely, but under certain limitations (*y*)." Let me add a word, from this author, concerning juſtification, which he ſuppoſes to be ſynonymous with the infuſion of grace: "free-will," ſays he, "is eſſential to the nature of man: conſequently, in that perſon, who has the uſe of his free-will, God worketh no motion unto righteouſneſs without the motion of the man's free-will (*z*)." In his comment on the firſt Epiſtle to Timothy, he thus aſſerts the merit of works: "Spiritual treaſure is no other than an aſſemblage of merits; which merits are the foundation of that future building which is prepared for us in Heaven: for, the whole preparation of future glory is by merits; which merits we acquire by grace; and this grace is the fountain of merit (*a*)."

Now let any man judge, whether this Popiſh writer does not, in theſe and ſimilar paſſages, ſpeak the language of Pelagius. That he ſometimes ſtumbles on great and precious truths, cannot be denied. Where this is the caſe, let him have his due commendation. But the leaſt that can be ſaid, is, that thoſe of his lucubrations, which I have met with, abound with ſuch aſtoniſhing ſelf-contradictions, as are only to be paralleled in the puny publications

(*y*) *Eſt enim liber vitæ conſcriptio ordinatorum in vitam æternam. Quicunque enim gratiam habet, ex hoc ipſo eſt dignus vitâ æternâ. Et hæc ordinatio deficit interdum: quia aliqui ordinati ſunt, ex gratiâ habitâ, ad habendum vitam æternam, à quâ tamen deficiunt per peccatum mortale. Illi qui ſunt ordinati ad habendum vitam æternam non ex prædeſtinatione divinæ, ſed ſolùm ex gratiâ; dicuntur eſſe ſcripti in libro vitæ, non ſimpliciter, ſed ſecundum quid.* Aquin. Summ. pt. 1. qu. 23. art. 3. pag. 61. Edit. Antverp. 1585.

(*z*) *Homo autem ſecundum propriam naturam habet, quòd ſit liberi arbitrii: & ideò, in eo, qui habet uſum liberi arbitrii, non fit motio à Deo, ad juſtitiam, abſque motu liberi arbitrii.* Aquin. ibid. 1. 2dæ quæſt. 113. art. 3. p. 245.

(*a*) *Theſaurus ſpiritualis eſt congregatio meritorum: quæ ſunt fundamentum futuri ædificii, quod nobis præparatur in cœlo. Quia tota præparatio futuræ gloriæ eſt per merita, quæ acquirimus per gratiam, quæ eſt principium merendi.* Ejuſdem Lect. 4. in 1. tom. vi. p. 410. Edit. Antverp. 1620.

wherewith Mr. John Weſley hath edified his readers.

So much for Thomas Aquinas. Next, for the celebrated African biſhop; concerning whom, Mr. Sellon thus deſcants: "Auſtin's writings are judged to confirm the Popiſh doctrines ſo much, that the effigy of that father is ſet with three others, to ſupport the papal chair." And ſuppoſe I was to make the effigy of Arminius ſerve as a leg to my chair, would it thence follow that I am an Arminian? As little does it follow, that the doctrine of predeſtination aſſerted by St. Auſtin, is the received doctrine of Rome, only becauſe the Pope affects to ſit on the ſhoulders of Auſtin's wooden image. If my adverſary has only ſuch wooden arguments to urge, the intereſt of his dearly beloved Arminianiſm will be as ridiculouſly and as feebly ſupported, as is the Pope's (*b*) chair by the worm-eaten effigy. Is it true, that the ſyſtem of grace, maintained by Auſtin, is eſpouſed by the Roman Church? Quite the reverſe. The writers, of that communion, do, indeed, make very pompous uſe of St. Auſtin's name, and pretend to pay no little deference to his authority: but with

(*b*) After all, what if none of the four ſupporting images ſhould be really repreſentative of St. Auſtin? I am aware, that the contrary has been affirmed, by authority incomparably more credible, than that of Mr. Sellon. I, therefore, only ſtart the query as a bare poſſibility. But, were it even fact, it would not be the firſt miſtake of the kind, into which the Holy Infallible See hath fallen. Witneſs the following famous inſtance. "Till the year 1662, the biſhops of Rome thought they had a pregnant proof, not only of St. Peter's erecting their chair, but of his ſitting in it himſelf: for till that year, the very chair, on which, they believed, or would make others believe, he [St. Peter] had ſat, was ſhewn, and expoſed to public adoration, on the 18th of January, the feſtival of the ſaid chair. But while it was cleaning, in order to be ſet up in ſome conſpicuous place of the Vatican, the twelve labours of Hercules, unluckily, appeared to be engraved on it. 'Our worſhip, however,' ſays Giacomo Bartolini, who was preſent at this diſcovery, and relates it, 'was not miſplaced: ſince it was not to the wood we paid it, but to the prince of apoſtles, St. Peter." Bower's Hiſt. of the Popes, vol. i. p. 7.

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juſt as much ſincerity, as Mr. Sellon profeſſes to revere and vindicate the Church of England. Papiſts dazzle the vulgar by the mention of St. Auſtin, that the brightneſs of his name may render their apoſtacy from his doctrines imperceivable.

With what propriety St. Auſtin's image lends its ſhoulder to the Pope's haunch, may be judged from the following brief ſketch of Auſtin's doctrine: which I ſhall give in the words of the honeſt and learned Mr. Du Pin.

"Sinners," ſays St. Auguſtin, "ſin voluntarily, and without compulſion: and they cannot complain that God hath denied them his grace, or the gift of perſeverance, ſince he owes his grace to no-body (*c*)." The hiſtorian goes on: "He [Auſtin] again inſiſteth upon the ſame matter, and upon the ſame principles, in both the books which he writ in anſwer to Hilary's and Proſper's letters. The firſt is, of the predeſtination of the ſaints; and the ſecond, of the gift of perſeverance: wherein he demonſtrates, that the beginning of faith and good purpoſes is the gift of God; and that ſo, our predeſtination, or vocation, doth not depend upon our merits. The ſecond book concerns the gift of perſeverance; which he ſhews to depend equally on God, as the beginning of our converſion. St. Auguſtin compoſed theſe treatiſes in the year 429 (*d*).

"St. Auguſtin's principles, concerning predeſtination and reprobation, do exactly agree with his opinion touching grace. Both thoſe decrees, according to him, ſuppoſe the fore-knowledge of original ſin, and of the corruption of the whole maſs of mankind. If God would ſuffer all men to remain there, none could complain of that ſeverity, ſeeing they are all guilty and doomed to damnation, becauſe of the ſin of the firſt man. But God reſolved, from all

(*c*) Dupin's Hiſt. of Eccleſiaſtical Writers, vol. 3. p. 203.
(*d*) Ibid.

eternity, to deliver ſome, whom he had choſen out of pure mercy, without any regard to their future merits; and, from all eternity, he prepared, for them that were thus choſen, thoſe gifts and graces which are neceſſary to ſave them infallibly: and theſe he beſtows upon them in time. All thoſe, therefore, that are of the number of the elect, hear the goſpel, and believe, and perſevere in the faith working by love, to the end of their lives. If they chance to wander from the right way, they return, and repent of their ſins: and it is certain, that they ſhall all die in the faith of Jeſus Chriſt (*e*)."

Let the reader but compare the above ſummary of St. Auſtin's doctrine, with the determinations of the Council of Trent, quoted in the 3d of the preceding ſections; and he will, at firſt view, perceive, how little ſtreſs is to be laid on the Pope's repoſing his loins upon St. Auſtin's effigy, while he tramples the leading (*f*) doctrines of that predeſtinarian ſaint under

(*e*) Ibid. p. 205, 206. Theſe citations demonſtrate the juſtneſs of Mr. Bayle's following remark. "It is certain," ſays this ſhrewd, perſpicacious writer, "that the engagement, which the Church of Rome is under, to reſpect St. Auſtin's ſyſtem, caſts her into a perplexity which is very ridiculous. It is manifeſt to all men, who examine things without prejudice and with ſufficient abilities, that Auſtin's doctrine, and that of Janſenius, are one and the ſame; ſo that we cannot, without indignation, behold the Court of Rome boaſting to have condemned Janſenius, and yet to have preſerved St. Auſtin in all his glory. Theſe are two things, altogether inconſiſtent. More than this, the Council of Trent, in condemning Calvin's doctrine of free-will, did neceſſarily condemn that of St. Auſtin: for no Calviniſt ever denied, or can deny, the concurrence of the human will, and the liberty of the ſoul, in that ſenſe which St. Auſtin has given to the words concurrence, co-operation, and liberty. So that when they" [i. e. the Papiſts] boaſt of having St. Auſtin's faith, it is only meant to preſerve a decorum, and to ſave their ſyſtem from the deſtruction which a ſincere confeſſion of the truth muſt neceſſarily occaſion." Bayle's Hiſt. Dict. vol. i. art. Auguſtin.

(*f*) This is evident, among other proofs, from the following inſtance: ſome of St. Auſtin's works, concerning grace and againſt free-will, are actually under the black mark of the Romiſh index *Expurgatorius*. For the knowledge of which, I am indebted to the infor-

under foot, and anathematiſes all who embrace them.

Had I any kind of intercourſe with his Arminian holineſs of Rome, I would adviſe him to caſhier the image of St. Auſtin from ſerving any longer as a ſupport to his eaſy chair. I would recommend to him a log, made of Ledſham aſh: which he might ſoon obtain, by ordering one of his emiſſaries (whereof he has a pretty many) in this kingdom, to procure an effigy of Mr. Walter Sellon, as nearly reſembling the original, as it can be made; to ſerve---not, indeed, upon due recollection, as a ſtay to his Holineſs's throne---nor even as a prop to his foot-ſtool---but, which would be perfectly in character, as a leg to a certain convenience (a *ſella perforata*, though not the *ſella porphyretica)*, whereon, I preſume his Holineſs deigns, occaſionally, to ſit: and which, the wooden effigy of this wooden Arminian would, with all imaginable propriety and gracefulneſs, aſſiſt in ſupporting.

SECTION VI.

The Charge of Ranteriſm *refuted and retorted.*

PASS we, now, to a ſlander againſt the Calviniſtic doctrines, drawn from a very different topic. "Antinomianiſm and Ranteriſm are," according to my adverſary, "the genuine effects of abſolute predeſtination." As to Antinomianiſm, I have, elſe-

information of Spanhemius. "In doctrinam illius [Auguſtini] de gratiâ & libero arbitrio, iniquiora ſunt ſæpe judicia familiæ Jeſuitarum & obvia. Nec pauca inquiſitores hiſpanici & index Expurgatorius in Auguſtino damnant, obelo iis configenda. Spanhem. Operum, tom i. 925.

where (*g*), ſhewn what it is, and demonſtrated that it no more follows from Calviniſm, than midnight from the ſun. But, as the charge of Ranteriſm may carry a new appearance, to thoſe who are unacquainted with the ſcurrilities of thoſe ſuperannuated Arminians from whoſe quiver Mr. Sellon has borrowed his ſhafts, I will not diſmiſs it without ſome examination.

The ſect, who, in the reign of Charles I. juſtly went by the name of Ranters; were no other than the ſpawn, or continuation, of the (*h*) Familiſts, who made ſo much noiſe under the adminiſtration of Elizabeth. To judge, therefore, of the branch, we muſt review the parent-tree. To trace the riſe, and aſcertain the principles of the Ranters, we muſt follow the ſtream to the ſpring, by carrying up our enquiries to the Familiſts themſelves.

The learned Camden, in his Hiſtory of Queen Elizabeth, informs us, under the year 1580, that "not only perfidious ſubjects, but alſo foreigners, out of Holland, a country (*i*) fruitful of heretics, began, at this time, to trouble the peace of the Church and Commonwealth of England. Under a ſhew of ſingular integrity and ſanctity, they inſinuated themſelves into the affections of the ignorant, common people; and then inſtilled into their minds ſeveral damnable hereſies, manifeſtly repugnant to the Chriſtian faith: uſing uncouth and ſtrange kind of expreſſions. Theſe named themſelves of the Family of Love, or Houſe of Charity. They perſuaded their followers, that thoſe only were elected, and ſhould be ſaved, who were admitted into that fa-

(*g*) See my Caveat againſt Unſound Doctrines.

(*h*) Fuller's Church Hiſtory of Britain; b. x. ſ. 2. p. 33.

(*i*) I do not wonder at this remark of the Hiſtorian. Nor will any other unprejudiced perſon, who conſiders, that among the reſt, Arminius (at whom, and his adherents, Mr. Camden ſtrongly ſeems to glance in this ſentence) was a Dutchman.

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mily; and all the reſt, reprobates, and to be damned: and that it was lawful for them to deny, upon their oath, before a magiſtrate, whatſoever they pleaſed; or before any other, who was not of their family." He adds, that their leader, Henry Nicholas, "with a blaſphemous mouth, gave out, that he partook of God, and God [partook] of his humanity."

King James I. has given us a miniature drawing of theſe people, ſketched with his own hand: "That vile ſect," ſays his Majeſty, "called the Familie of Love, think themſelves only pure, and, in a manner, without ſinne; the only true church, and only worthie to be participant of the ſacraments; and all the reſt of the world to be but abomination in the ſight of God (*k*)."

Hence it appears, that theſe wretched fanatics (like ſome others I could eaſily name) held, 1. That mens election or reprobation was conditional; and that the condition was, their joining, or not joining themſelves to this pretended family of love: conſequently, 2. That ſalvation did not extend beyond the purlieus of their own ſect: 3. That faith was not to be kept with any but themſelves: and, 4. That men might, in the preſent life, be in a manner without ſin (*l*). Their tenets, therefore, appear to have been a ferrago of Pelagianiſm, Popery, and enthuſiaſm.

Henry Nicholas, a native of Amſterdam, and the founder of this ſect, had, it ſeems, began to ſow his

(*k*) Baſilicon Doron, Pref. p. 8. Edit. 1603.

(*l*) Of this ſect was Velſius, an Hollander, who, in the year 1563, made much diſturbance among the Dutch congregation in London. (See Strype's annals of the twelve firſt years of Elizabeth; chap. 34.) This was the ſame Velſius, who, "In the year 1556, held a diſpute at Frankfort, with one Horne, who appeared in behalf of Calvin's doctrine of abſolute predeſtination, and againſt free-will. Him Velſius called *ambitionis et κενοδοξιας vilissimum manicipium*, i. e. a moſt vile ſlave of ambition and vain-glory. He aſſerted, that he that was born might not ſin, and, in effect, could not ſin: that is, if he remained in the grace of regeneration." (Strype, ibid. p. 347.) So far were theſe ranting freewillers from Calviniſm!

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tares in England, many years before the æra aſſigned by Camden: though it was not, perhaps, until about the year 1580, that the Familiſts were ſufficiently numerous and daring, to alarm the vigilance of government. But the enthuſiaſt had, before, taken a voyage hither, in the reign of king Edward VI. and, joining himſelf, at firſt, to a Dutch church in London, perverted "a number of artificers and ſilly women (*m*)."

From a paper, ſubſcribed by one of theſe ſectarians, and publiſhed by Mr. Strype, we may derive ſtill ſtronger light into ſome of their diſtinguiſhing principles. It ſeems, in the year 1581, Dr Wolton, biſhop of Exeter, deprived the rector of Lidford, in Devonſhire, for being a Familiſt, or Ranter. This ranter's name was Anthony Randal: who, among other heterodoxies, held, that the Moſaic hiſtory of Adam's Temptation and Fall was a mere allegory: "moreover, that as many as receive Jeſus Chriſt and his doctrine, did fully keep all the moral law, and lived pure without ſinning (*n*)." In the ſummary of aſſertions, which the ſaid Anthony Randal acknowledged under his own hand, I find the following paſſages. "He ſaith, that he cannot put down" [i. e. ſafely commit to writing] "what he hath learned of predeſtination, or providence, without ſpeaking, or at leaſt ſeeming to ſpeak, againſt the law of the realm. He ſaith, he hath taught openly, and will teach, during his life (being not forbidden by the prince), that as many as receive Jeſus Chriſt and his doctrine, do fulfil, keep, and do, all the moral law given by God to Moſes: and ſo to live clean and clear without ſinning, or the act of ſin. And moreover, that every one that preacheth any doctrine contrary to this, neither knoweth God, or his Chriſt, nor yet the power and ſtrength of the Holy Spi-

(*m*) Fuller's Church Hiſt. b. ix. p. 112.
(*n*) Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 222.

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rit (*o*)." Let me make a ſhort ſtricture on theſe two paragraphs. It is ſufficiently plain, 1. That the ranter denied predeſtination, and had (at beſt) but a very lax idea of divine Providence: yet, 2. He was honeſt enough to grant, that the doctrines of Predeſtination and Providence were a part of the national belief, eſtabliſhed by "the law of the realm." Hence, 3. He would not venture to blaſpheme thoſe doctrines under his hand-writing, for fear of the conſequences that might follow. Herein, the ranter acted diſcreetly enough. 4. He was an avowed perfectioniſt: and, 5. Was a moſt uncharitable bigot; elſe he had never affirmed, that every one, who preaches againſt his ranting doctrine of ſinleſs perfection, knows nothing of God, or of Chriſt, or of the Holy Spirit. Who, on this occaſion, can help thinking on Meſſieurs John Weſley and Walter Sellon? I mean, ſo far as concerns the tenet of perfection. For, on the articles of predeſtination and providence, even ranting Randal himſelf would not venture to fly ſo openly in the face of the "law of the realm," as have his ranting ſucceſſors, the two adventurers above mentioned.

In the ſecond year of James I. the Ranters or Familiſts (call them which you pleaſe), preſented a very long petition to that monarch; in which they had, at laſt, the courage to own their firm belief of univerſal redemption, and, not obſcurely, hinted their attachment to the doctrine of free-will. The whole petition may be read in Fuller (*p*). I ſhall content myſelf with tranſcribing two or three paragraphs. They term themſelves "The Family of Love, or of God;" and diſclaim all affinity to the Puritans, whom they brand with the epithets of "diſobedient, brain-ſick, proud-minded, heady, and hypocritical: whoſe malice," add the Ranters, "hath, for five

(*o*) Appendix to ditto, p. 93.
(*p*) Church Hiſt. of Brit. book x. ſect. 18.

and

and twenty years paſt, and upwards, and ever ſince, with many untrue ſuggeſtions, and moſt foul errors and odious crimes (the which we could then, if need were, prove), ſought our utter overthrow and deſtruction." The Puritans, I dare believe, deemed themſelves to be, as indeed they were, honoured by the low ſlanders of theſe wild and extravagant ſectariſts. But, would we think it poſſible? this very Family of Love, (or of Luſt rather, ſays Fuller), theſe identical Ranters, pretended, with as much confidence and as little truth as Meſſieurs John and Walter do at this day, to be very ſound and zealous members of the Church of England! "If," continue the petitioners, "we do vary, or ſwerve, from the eſtabliſhed religion in this land, either in ſervice, ceremonies, ſermons, or ſacraments; then let us be rejected for ſectaries, and never receive the benefit of ſubjects." We may learn, from this aſtoniſhing inſtance of impudence and falſhood, that it is no new thing, with ſchiſmatics, to lay the brats of their own invention at the door of the Church. Mr. Weſley, among others, ſeeks much to avail himſelf of this audacious artifice. As if the Church of England was the common receptacle of error, and looked ninety-nine ways at once!

But to reſume the petition. I ſhall not, here, ſtay to enquire into the merits of the queſtion concerning the univerſality of redemption and grace. I ſhall only ſhew, from the very words of the Ranters themſelves, that they held the univerſality of both. They tell the King that the writings of Henry Nicholas were written and publiſhed, "To the end that all people, when they hear or read his writing, might endeavour to bring forth the fruits of repentance, according as all the holy ſcripture doth likewiſe require the ſame of every one: and that they might, in that ſort, become ſaved, through Jeſus Chriſt the Saviour of all the world." They add, that Nicholas's books were written by an immediate impulſe

impulſe from Heaven: or, to uſe their own phraſeology, that his productions did "proceed out of the great grace and love of God and Chriſt toward all kings, princes, rulers, and people, upon the univerſal earth, to their ſalvation, unity, peace, and concord, in the ſame godly love."

"This Family of Love," ſays merry old Fuller, "who ſhut their doors before, now" [i. e. about A. D. 1655] keep open houſe: yea, Family is too narrow a name for them; they are grown ſo numerous. Formerly, by their own confeſſion in this petition, they had three qualities; few, poor, and unlearned. For the laſt, *billa vera:* their lack of learning they ſtill retain: being otherwiſe many, and ſome rich; but all under the name of Ranters. And thus," adds the facetious hiſtorian, "I fairly leave them, on condition they will fairly leave me, that I may hear no more of them for delivering truth and my own conſcience, in what I have written concerning their opinions (*q*)."

By this time, the reader muſt clearly ſee, with how little reaſon and juſtice Mr. Sellon pronounces Ranteriſm to be the genuine effect of the doctrine of predeſtination. So far from being an effect of it, it is totally and diametrically the reverſe of that doctrine, in every point of view. Mr. Sellon is the ranter, both in the ſpeculative and practical ſenſe of the term. Speculatively: for he avowedly holds, with his ranting brethren of the two laſt centuries, that our Lord is the intentional Saviour of all the world, without any exception; and that the grace of God extends "to all people upon the univerſal earth." Nay, on the article of ſinleſs perfection, this modern Arminian exceeds the madneſs of his ancient brethren. For, ſome of them only aſſerted, that people may be in a manner without ſin: whereas, the ſtill more illuminated Mr. Sellon affirms,

(*q*) Ibid. p. 33.

with

with the hotteſt of the elder ſect, that people may be totally without ſin. In which reſpect, he outrants many of the old Ranters themſelves. But what is empty ſpeculation, if unproductive of ſubſtantial practice? Herein, likewiſe, my worthy aſſailant comes not a jot behind the foremoſt of the primitive Ranters. For, what are his written works, but one continued ſeries of ranting againſt the ſovereignty and grace of God, and againſt all who affirm with the Church (art. xvii.) that predeſtination to life is the everlaſting purpoſe of God, whereby, before the foundations of the world were laid, he hath conſtantly decreed, by his counſel, ſecret to us to deliver from curſe and damnation thoſe whom he hath choſen in Chriſt out of mankind? And yet (ſo exactly does he tread in the footſteps of the "Family of Love"), Mr. Sellon would, like them, fain cajole his readers into an opinion that he is no ſectary, nor doth vary, nor ſwerve, from the eſtabliſhed religion of this land!" Thus, though he has reaſon enough to be aſhamed of his relations, the Ranters; he can hardly, I imagine, have the aſſurance to diſown them. Should he, however, be ſufficiently caſe-hardened, to deny the conſanguinity; he bears the family-likeneſs ſo ſtrongly, that in vain would he attempt to ſhuffle off the name, while every feature and line of his doctrinal phyſiognomy compels us to write ranter upon his forehead.

SECTION VII.

An Enquiry into the Judgment of the earlieſt Fathers, *concerning the Points in Queſtion.*

IN my letter to Dr. N. I took occaſion to obſerve, that there is the utmoſt reaſon to believe, that the main body of the Chriſtian Church (in which I do

do not include the Arians of thoſe times) were, for the four firſt centuries, unanimous believers of the doctrines now termed Calviniſtic (*a*). For this obſervation, I aſſigned two reaſons: 1. The univerſal horror and ſurprize, which the broaching of Pelagius's opinions, about the beginning of the 5th century, occaſioned in the whole Chriſtian Church; and, 2. The authority of Dr. Cave, who aſſerts, in expreſs terms, that Pelagius *hæreſin novam condidit*, "was the founder of a new hereſy." From whence I inferred, and infer ſtill, that, if the non-imputation of Adam's offence to his poſterity, and the bottoming of predeſtination and juſtification upon human worthineſs, were (as all hiſtorians concur to affirm) branches of Pelagius's new hereſy; it follows, that the oppoſite doctrines, of Adam's tranſgreſſion imputed to his offspring, and of predeſtination and juſtification by grace alone, were, and muſt have been, branches of the old faith univerſally held by the Church for the firſt 400 years after Chriſt.

Theſe two arguments Mr. Sellon, very prudently, paſſes over, uncanvaſſed and unmentioned: and ſkips to my ninth page, from whence he gleans an incidental remark, on which he thus deſcants: "Your telling us, p. 9. that, during the four firſt ages of the Chriſtian Church, predeſtination and its concomitant doctrines were undiſputed, for ought appears to the contrary; is no reaſon at all." It, certainly, is a ſtrong preſumptive reaſon, though not offered as direct proof: for, two of the direct reaſons had been given before, and ſtill remain, not only undemoliſhed, but untouched, by my cautious adverſary; who, with all his furious zeal for Arminianiſm, choſe rather to let thoſe reaſons keep poſſeſſion of the field than run the riſque of burning his own fingers in aſſaulting them. I will attend, however, to what he delivers concerning the "no reaſon at all."

(*a*) Church of Engl. vind. from Armin.

He

He grants, that thoſe doctrines were, for the four firſt ages, undiſputed: which he thus affects to account for; "becauſe it does not appear, that there were any that held them." We ſhall preſently ſee, that they were held, and held firmly too, by thoſe of the primitive fathers, who are commonly diſtinguiſhed by the title of Apoſtolical, from their having lived neareſt to the Apoſtles' times, i. e. within the firſt Chriſtian century. In the mean while, let us weigh the mode of argumentation adopted by Mr. Sellon: "The doctrines of grace were therefore undiſputed, becauſe it does not appear that they were believed." I hardly think, this will ſtand the teſt. Here is an abſolute, peremptory aſſertion, built (not ſo much as on a phantom or a ſhadow, but) on a mere non-appearance. Beſides: does it not, at leaſt, ſeem more probable, that theſe doctrines were therefore unoppoſed, becauſe they were generally held? For, daily experience evinces, that, to this day, thoſe ſame doctrines meet with oppoſition enough, from the perſons by whom they are not held: and, I am apt to think, that human nature, as ſuch, is juſt that, now, which it was in the four firſt centuries. Had the primitive times ſwarmed with Arminians, as the latter times have, the doctrines of grace would have been no leſs oppoſed and diſputed againſt then, than they have been ſince.

Another conſideration alſo merits our attention. Not only every Church, or collective body of profeſſing Chriſtians; but likewiſe every individual man, who thinks religion and philoſophy worthy of attending to, muſt, neceſſarily, form ſome judgment or other, concerning the points in debate, I may venture, therefore, without taking any undue advantage, to lay it down as a datum, that the Chriſtians of the four firſt ages (who certainly had the ſcriptures in their hands, and heard them read in their public aſſemblies) could not poſſibly be neutrals, on a ſubject of ſuch importance as that of predeſtination and grace;

grace; but muſt, unavoidably, have either believed that doctrine, or diſbelieved it: they were on one ſide, or on the other. Indeed, had the holy ſcripture made no mention at all of predeſtination, neither for, nor againſt, it is poſſible (and but barely poſſible), that the primitive Churches might have thought little or nothing about that ſublime article. But it is undeniable, that the ſcriptures make very expreſs, ample, and repeated mention of it: and the mention, there made of it, muſt be underſtood in ſome ſenſe or other. Now, if predeſtination and its derivative doctrines were at all thought of, by the firſt Churches; and if, for ought that can be proved to the contrary, thoſe doctrines paſſed undiſputed, till contravened by Pelagius in the fifth century; does it not (to ſay the leaſt) look as if they had been univerſally received and embraced, during the firſt (*b*) 400 years after Chriſt? We will ſuppoſe, a moment, for argument's ſake, the doctrines of grace to have paſſed undiſputed among Engliſh Proteſtants, from the æra of the Reformation, down to the emerſion of Mr. John Weſley. What, in ſuch a caſe, would have been the natural inference? Not, that nobody held theſe undiſputed principles: but, that they would and muſt have been controverted, long before, had they not been held univerſally. Why is the exiſtence of a certain luminary, called the ſun, undiſputed? Surely, not becauſe its exiſtence is diſbelieved; but, on the contrary, becauſe it

(*b*) The maſterly compilers of that learned and valuable work, entitled, The Hiſtory of Popery, expreſsly affirm what I only advanced as probable. "This doctrine," ſay they, viz. that 'God beſtoweth his determining grace on whom he will, and to whom he will he denieth it;' "This doctrine continued generally in the Church, till about the year 405, at which time a certain Briton, bred up in the monaſtery of Bangor, originally named Morgan (but that word, in Welch, ſignifying, of or belonging to the ſea, he was thence in Latin called Pelagius), began to ſet on foot ſeveral errors: as, denying original ſin; affirming the number of the elect and reprobate not to be definite, but indefinite and indeterminate, &c." Hiſt. of Popery, vol. ii. p. 355.

is univerſally known and acknowledged. I muſt, therefore, repeat my queſtion, which ſeems to have given Mr. Sellon and his fraternity ſo much diſquiet: where was not the doctrine of predeſtination, before Pelagius?

The Arminians treat election, as Gardiner, the Popiſh biſhop of Wincheſter, treated the doctrine of free juſtification. Before the Homily on Salvation was publiſhed, archbiſhop Cranmer and others ſent for Gardiner, and ſhewed him that excellent Homily, "wherein was handled the matter of juſtification; endeavouring to perſuade him to allow of it, by reaſoning with him concerning it. But Wincheſter pretended, whatſoever they ſaid could not ſalve his conſcience; and challenged them to ſhew any old writer who taught as that Homily did (*c*)."

If the teſtimony of old writers was needful, to confirm the good old doctrines, there are old writers enough at hand, to confirm all and every one of them. But it ſuffices for me, that we have the ſuffrages of the oldeſt writers; I mean, the Prophets and Apoſtles. The holy Scriptures are the trueſt and the pureſt antiquity (*d*). While theſe are for us,

(*c*) Strype's Eccleſ. Mem. vol. 3. p. 278.

(*d*) Calvin touches this point, with great judgment and elegance, in one of the moſt admirable compoſitions which any age has ſeen: I mean, his Dedication of his Inſtitution to Francis I. of France. In that highly-finiſhed apology for the Proteſtant religion, the apoſtolical reformer thus ſpeaks: "Improbis clamoribus nos obruunt, ceu patrum contemptores et adverſarios. Nos verò adeò illos non contemnimus, ut ſi id præſentis inſtituti eſſet, nullo negotio mihi liceat meliorem eorum partem eorum, quæ hodiè à nobis dicunter, ipſorum ſuffragiis comprobare. Sic tamen in eorum Scriptis verſamur, ut ſemper meminerimus, omnia noſtra eſſe, quæ nobis ſerviant, non dominentur. Nos autem unius Chriſti, cui, per omnia, ſine exceptione, parendum ſit. Hunc delectum qui non tenet, nihil in religione conſtitutum habebit: quando multa ignorârunt ſancti illi viri; ſæpè inter ſe conflictantur; interdum etiam ſecum ipſi pugnant."

I am by no means ſingular in my admiration of the piece now cited. Mr. Bayle acknowledges, that the above Dedicatory Epiſtle "is one of thoſe three or four prefatory pieces, ſo much admired. Thuanus's Epiſtle Dedicatory, and Caſaubon's Preface to Polybius, are

us, it matters not who are againſt us. However, the Calviniſts of latter ages are very far from ſtanding alone, in their reſolute adherence to the ſcripture doctrines. The learned biſhop Beveridge, whoſe acquaintance with the monuments of primitive antiquity is inconteſtible, treating (for inſtance) of regeneration by the efficacious grace of God, expreſſes himſelf thus; and avers, that the firſt Churches believed as follows: Our Lord "doth not ſay, there are ſome things you cannot do without me, or, there are many things you cannot do without me; but, without me ye can do nothing: nothing good, nothing pleaſing and acceptable unto God. Whereas, if we could either prepare ourſelves to turn, or turn ourſelves when prepared, we ſhould do much. And, to put it out of doubt, the ſame ſpirit tells us elſewhere, it is God that worketh in you both to will and to do, of his good pleaſure. It is he who firſt enables us to will what we ought to do, and then to do what we will. Both the grace we deſire, and our deſire of grace, proceed from him. And therefore it is requiſite, in order to our converſion, that the underſtanding be not only ſo enlightened as to diſcern the evil from the good; but that our wills be alſo ſo rectified, as to prefer the good before the evil. By this rectifying, or bringing of the will into its right order again, its liberty is not deſtroyed, but healed: ſo that it is free, after, as well as before converſion; free to God and Holineſs, as it was before free only to ſin and wickedneſs. And this was the doctrine of the Primitive Church. St. Auguſtin, in whoſe days Pelagius firſt roſe up

are of that number. We muſt join to theſe the Preface of Mr. Peliſſon, on the works of Sarraſin." Had Mr. Bayle ſeen Witſius's Dedication of his Oeconomia Fœderum, to King William; and could he have lived to ſee Dr. Samuel Johnſon's Preface to his edition of Shakeſpear; a critic of his taſte and diſcernment muſt certainly have added thoſe maſterly performances to the admired number.

againſt this truth, hath written ſeveral volumes to this purpoſe (*e*)."

St. Jerom, who was cotemporary with St. Auguſtin, addreſſed him, not as the founder, but as a principal reſtorer, of the doctrines of grace: "Thou art famous," ſaid Jerom to Auſtin, "through the world. The orthodox revere thee, as the rebuilder of the ancient faith (*f*)." And I am much miſtaken, if St. Jerom, who lived more than thirteen hundred years ago, was not better qualified to judge and pronounce concerning the faith of the ancients, than all the followers of Van-Harmin taken together.

There are caſes, wherein a man's own teſtimony, even in his own cauſe, is not only admiſſible, but weighty and reſpectable. Of this kind I conſider the following declaration of St. Auſtin. "We have ſhewed (ſays he, directing his ſpeech to the Pelagians), by invincible authorities, that the holy biſhops, who lived before us, taught the ſame faith which we maintain; and overthrew the arguments which you make uſe of, not only in their diſcourſes, but in their writings alſo. We have ſhewed you their opinions, which are very particular and clear. I hope their teſtimonies will cure your blindneſs, as I wiſh it: but, if you continue obſtinate in your error, which God forbid, you are no more to look for a tribunal to juſtify you, but for thoſe wonderful defenders of the truth to accuſe you; St. Irenæus, St. Cyprian, Rheticius, Olympius, St. Hilary, St. Gregory, St. Ambroſe, St. Baſil, St. John Chryſoſtom, &c. with all thoſe who communicated with them, that is to ſay, the whole Church (*g*)."

I once devoted a conſiderable ſhare of time and attention to the fathers. But, I ſcruple not to ac-

(*e*) Biſhop Beveridge's Expoſition of the Thirty-nine Articles. Art. 10.

(*f*) See a book, entitled, Melius Inquirendum, p. 51. written by Mr. Alſop, the learned and ingenious author of Anti-Sozzo.

(*g*) Dupin's Hiſt. of Eccleſ. Writers, p. 201, 202.

knowledge,

knowledge, that, after a while, I deſiſted from this ſtudy, as barren and unimproving. Some excellent things are, indeed, interſperſed in their writings; but the golden grains are almoſt loſt amidſt an infinity of rubbiſh. "If a man," ſays Dr. Young, "was to find one pearl in an oyſter of a million, it would hardly encourage him to commence fiſherman for life." So ſay I, of the fathers in general. Even ſuppoſing (what I can by no means grant), that the harveſt of inſtruction would recompence the toil of breaking up the ground; a life-time would hardly ſuffice to read the fathers with care: and, perhaps, two life-times would ſcarcely enable a reader to digeſt them completely. That knowledge which is truly important, lies in a much narrower compaſs. I am quite of his mind, who ſaid *unus Auguſtinus, præ mille Patribus; & unus Paulus præ mille Auguſtinis.* One page of St. Auſtin is worth a thouſand of moſt other fathers; but one page of St. Paul is worth a thouſand of St. Auſtin's. I ſpeak not this, to depreciate the labours of ſuch learned perſons, as have trod the paths of what is called primitive antiquity; but ſimply to profeſs the idea, I cannot help entertaining, of the vanity and unprofitableneſs, with which I apprehend this kind of chace to be generally attended. If any are otherwiſe minded, let them follow the chace, and proſper.

There are, however, a few writings, ſtill extant, which, in point both of antiquity and value, appear to rank next below the inſpired. The chief of theſe are the remains of Barnabas, Clemens Romanus, Ignatius, and Polycarp. A few citations, from theſe venerable divines and martyrs, will ſerve to evince the falſhood of Limborch's aſſertion, where he tells us, that, "prior to the riſe of St. Auſtin, the primitive Churches knew little or nothing about predeſtination." If that proverbial remark be true, the nearer the fountain the clearer the ſtream; the teſti-

monies, brought from theſe early writers, muſt come with weight little, if at all, ſhort of deciſive.

I. Very frequent mention is made of Barnabas, in the New Teſtament. He was originally a Jew by religion, a Cypriot by birth, and for ſome time a a companion of St. Paul in his journies for the goſpel. Dr. Cave (*h*), and others, are of opinion, that he was one of the ſeventy diſciples, who were ſent out by Chriſt himſelf (Luke x.) to preach the word. But it is certain, that, ſome years after our Lord's aſcenſion, he was expreſsly fixed upon, by the peculiar deſignation of the Holy Ghoſt, to be a preacher at large; Luke xiii. 2. It is probable, that he at laſt received the crown of martyrdom in his native iſland of Cyprus.

From the fragment of an epiſtle, retrieved by the learned archbiſhop Uſher, and generally admitted to be the authentic work of Barnabas, I ſelect the following paſſages.

That he held the abſolute freeneſs of divine grace, appears from this remarkable aſſertion: "When Chriſt," ſays he, "choſe his own Apoſtles who were to preach his goſpel, he choſe them when they were wickeder than all wickedneſs itſelf; to demonſtrate, that he came not to call the righteous, but ſinners to repentance (*i*)." That he was far from being ſtartled at the doctrine of reprobation, ſeems more than probable: elſe, I ſhould imagine, he would ſcarcely have repreſented the incarnation and death of Chriſt to have been deſigned for filling up the meaſure of Jewiſh iniquity. His words are theſe: "Therefore did the Son of God come in the fleſh, to this very end, that he might finiſh and bring to perfection the ſins of thoſe who had perſecuted his prophets unto death. For this reaſon" [i.e. this was one reaſon for which]

h Hiſt. Literar. vol. i. p. 11.

(*i*) Epiſt. Barnab. Sect. v.—I follow the edition of Cotelerius.

which] he ſuffered (*k*). If a modern Calviniſt was to expreſs himſelf in this manner, what an hideous outcry would be raiſed, as if heaven and earth were falling!

Far from repreſenting the death of Chriſt as a contingency, or as an event which might, or might not have taken place; Barnabas avers that it came to paſs neceſſarily: "It was Chriſt's own will that he ſhould thus ſuffer. It was requiſite that he ſhould ſuffer on the tree. For the prophet ſaith concerning him, deliver my ſoul, &c. (*l*)."

Speaking of regeneration and converſion, he aſcribes the power, by which thoſe ſupernatural effects are accompliſhed, entirely to God: "When God hath renewed us by the remiſſion of ſins, he hath formed us into a quite different likeneſs; ſo that we have a child-like mind: foraſmuch as he himſelf faſhions us anew (*m*)." Again: "behold, we have been formed afreſh: as he ſpeaketh by another prophet; lo, ſaith the Lord, I will take away from them, that is, from thoſe whom the ſpirit of the Lord fore-viewed, I will take away from them [their] ſtony hearts, and I will ſend fleſhly hearts into them (*n*)."

In the following paragraph, Barnabas ſeems to glance at the ſpecialty of redemption: "The Lord ſaith again" [i. e. Chriſt, the ſecond perſon in the Trinity], "In whom ſhall I appear before the Lord my God, and be glorified? He anſwereth: I will praiſe thee in the Church, in the midſt of my brethren; and ſing to thee in the midſt of the Church of the Saints (*o*)." If this venerable writer

(*k*) Ibid.—Father Menard, a learned French Papiſt, who, in his Commentary on this Epiſtle, is ſtudious of pelagianizing as many parts of it as he can; has yet a very ſtriking, becauſe a very honeſt, note on this paſſage: "*Profert aliam cauſam adventûs Chriſti; ut colligeretur & ſubduceretur veluti ſumma peccatorum Judæorum: hoc eſt, ut conſummarentur peccata eorum, additâ Chriſti morte, eorumque impœnitentiâ ad necem*, &c.

(*l*) Ibid. (*m*) Ibid. Sect. vi. (*n*) Ibid. (*o*) Ibid.

only glances at particular redemption, in the laſt paſſage; he more than glances at it, in this which follows: "Underſtand, therefore, O ye children of [ſpiritual] gladneſs, that the Lord hath made all [theſe] things manifeſt to us beforehand, that we might know to whom we ſhould gratefully render thanks in all things. Since therefore the Son of God, though he is Jehovah, and will judge the living and the dead, ſuffered, that his puniſhment might make us alive; let us reſt aſſured, that the Son of God could not have ſuffered but for us (*p*)." The ſenſe evidently is, that the eſſential dignity of Chriſt, as Κυριος, or Sovereign Lord, will not permit us to believe that it was poſſible for him to ſuffer and ſhed his blood in vain, or for thoſe who are not, eventually, "made alive by his (*q*) puniſhment" in their room and ſtead. To the ſame effect he thus ſpeaks, in the perſon of Chriſt: "Wherefore?" [i. e. wherefore was the ſin-offering, under the law, to be eaten by the prieſts alone?] "Becauſe I am to offer up my fleſh as a ſacrifice for the ſins of the new people (*r*):" i. e. for the ſins of thoſe who ſhall be made new creatures in Chriſt by the ſpirit and grace of God: who can ſay, with Barnabas, in the words already quoted, "He himſelf faſhions us anew: behold, we have been formed afreſh." And theſe ſurely, are far enough from including the whole of mankind. It is plain, Menardus underſtood this paſſage (as every unprejudiced reader muſt) of Chriſt's offering up himſelf only "for the ſins of the new, or renewed people," as militating very ſtrongly againſt univerſal redemption; elſe, in his pert note on the place, he would not, like many other annotators, have flown directly in the face of the text, and preſumed to charge Barnabas with be-

(*p*) Ibid. Sect. vii.

(*q*) I have ventured to render πληγη by the general word puniſhment: though it ſtrictly ſignifies a blow, a ſtripe, a wound.

(*r*) Ibid.

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ing in an error: "Λαὸν τὸν καινὸν, i. e. *populi novi. Non ità rectè: quia Chriſtus pro univerſo mundo paſſus eſt.*" Barnabas, however, thought otherwiſe. And ſo would his angry commentator, had he duly weighed the notion, of indiſcriminate redemption, in the balance of the ſanctuary.

Barnabas's judgment, reſpecting the certainty of perſeverance, may be concluded from his connecting evangelical hope with final ſalvation. Though hope is, perhaps, one of the loweſt on the round of Chriſtian graces; yet, a Chriſtian grace it is: and the hope, which has the finiſhed redemption of Jeſus for its object, ſhall be crowned with everlaſting glory, by him who will never break a bruiſed reed, nor quench the ſmoaking flax: "They, who hope in him, ſhall live forever (*s*)." Much leſs ſhall the ſtronger graces fail: "Whoſoever eateth of theſe things, ſhall live everlaſtingly. He" [i. e. God] "ſaith, whoſoever ſhall hear thoſe that call, and believeth, ſhall live eternally (*t*)."

According to this truly apoſtolic writer, free-will has nothing to do in the affairs of ſpiritual and future ſalvation. Speaking of God's true Iſrael, he aſks, "But, from whence is it, that they come to conſider and underſtand theſe things? We, who conſider his Commandments aright, ſpeak as the Lord willeth us to ſpeak. For that end, he hath circumciſed our ears and our hearts, that we might underſtand theſe things (*u*)." Again: "He, giving us repentance, hath led us into the incorruptible temple. The perſon, therefore, who is deſirous of ſalvation, looketh not unto man, but to him that dwelleth in man and ſpeaketh by man (*x*)."

I ſhall cloſe my citations, from Barnabas, with but one teſtimony more: "Iſſue not thy commands to thy maid-ſervant, or to thy man-ſervant, in an

(*s*) Ibid. Sect. viii.
(*t*) Ibid. Sect. xi.
(*u*) Ibid. Sect. x.
(*x*) Ibid. Sect. xvi.

acrimo-

acrimonious manner, leſt thou fear not that God who is maſter both of you and them: for he came not to call men, επι προσωπον, according to their outward condition in life, but [his call is] unto thoſe whom the ſpirit hath prepared (*y*)," be their outward condition what it may.

II. Clemens (*z*) Romanus is ſaid to have been a diſciple of the apoſtle Peter: and is univerſally allowed to be that Clement, whom St. Paul numbered among his fellow-labourers, and whoſe name he peremptorily affirmed to be in the Book of Life. Phil. iv. 3. He was made biſhop of Rome, probably, about A. D. 64, or 65. But it is very uncertain, at what time, and in what manner, he was honoured with martyrdom.

His Firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians is celebrated, by many of the antient writers, as one of the fineſt and moſt valuable productions of the apoſtolic age. So highly was it eſteemed, that, for ſeveral centuries, it made a part of the public ſervice of the primitive Church: being read in their aſſemblies, and revered as inferior only to the books of the New Teſtament. Nor does a learned modern (Monſieur Du Pin) betray the leaſt want of judgment, in declaring the Epiſtle, now under conſideration, to be, "After the Holy Scriptures, one of the moſt eminent records of antiquity." It ſeems to have been written before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem by the Romans: conſequently, much within forty years after our Lord's aſcenſion; and about ſix or ſeven years after the death of the apoſtle Paul, with whom, and with ſeveral others of the apoſtles, Clement was perſonally and intimately acquainted.

The teſtimonies of ſuch a writer, in favour of the great truths called Calviniſtic, deſerve the reader's

(*y*) Ibid. Sect. xix.

(*z*) Vide Cave's Hiſt. Liter. vol. i. p. 17. Alſo, his Apoſtolici, p. 78. And Dupin's Eccleſ. Writers, vol. i. p. 27.

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attention. Among which teſtimonies, are the following.

The Epiſtle opens thus: "The Church of God, which dwelleth at Rome, to the Church of God dwelling at Corinth, called and ſet apart by the will of God, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord (*b*)." Hinting at ſome violent tumults and diſſentions, which had lately agitated and divided the Corinthian Church; he terms ſuch proceedings "a criminal and unholy ſedition, ſtrange and unſeemly in the elect of God (*c*)." Reminding them of the exemplary care, with which they had formerly attended to the performance of every good work; he obſerves, "your conteſt, day and night, was for the whole brotherhood; that the number of his elect might be ſaved with mercy and with [a good] conſcience (*e*)." Nor did Clement conſider the ſalvation of the elect as precarious, or their perſeverance as uncertain. "It being the will of God," ſays he, "that all his beloved ones ſhould be made partakers of repentance; he hath eſtabliſhed them firmly by his own Almighty purpoſe (*f*)."

His judgment, concerning the extent of redemption, may be inferred from the two following paſſages. In the firſt, treating of Rahab's deliverance by the line of ſcarlet depending from her window, he conſiders that event as typical of ſalvation by Chriſt's atonement: hereby, ſays he, "They" [i. e. Rahab, and as many of her friends as were collected under her roof for preſervation] "made it manifeſt, that redemption by the blood of the Lord ſhould accrue to all who believe and hope in God (*g*)." Again: the Meſſiah's "Life is taken from the earth; becauſe of the iniquities of my people. He went unto death (*h*)."

(*b*) Clem. Ep. I. ad Cor. Sect. i. (*c*) Ibid.
(*e*) Ibid. Sect. iii. (*f*) Ibid. Sect. viii.
(*g*) Ibid. Sect. xii. (*h*) Ibid. Sect. xvi.

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That this primitive biſhop had the moſt exalted ideas of the immutability, the certainty, and the omnipotence, of God's decrees, is evident beyond all contradiction. Witneſs his deſcription of the all-controlling power, with which God's providential diſpoſals are attended: "In purſuance of his will, the teeming earth produces, at the proper ſeaſons, abundant proviſion both for men, and for wild beaſts, and for all the animals that are upon it; without varying from, and without altering, ought of thoſe things which were decreed by him (*i*)." With a ſublimity both of ſentiment and ſtyle, which would do honour even to Homer or Demoſthenes, he thus aſſerts the independency, ſovereignty, and invincibility, of the divine appointments: "By the word of his Majeſty he hath conſtituted all things; and he is able, by a word, to overturn them. Who ſhall ſay unto him, what haſt thou done? or who ſhall reſiſt the might of his power? He hath done all things at what ſeaſon he pleaſed, and in what manner he pleaſed: and not one of the things, which have been decreed by him, ſhall paſs away. All things are open to his view, nor hath any thing abſconded from his will and pleaſure (*k*)."

Far from ſuppoſing, that the precious doctrine of election conduces to immorality; he repreſents election as the main ground-work of ſanctification, and as the grand inducement to virtue and obedience: "Let us draw nigh to God with holineſs of mind, lifting up chaſte and unpolluted hands, loving our gentle and compaſſionate Father, who hath made us a part of the election unto himſelf. For ſo it is written: When the Moſt High parcelled out the nations, and when he diſperſed the ſons of Adam, he appointed the boundaries of the nations according to the number of his Angels. His people Jacob were

(*i*) Ibid. Sect. xx. (*k*) Ibid. Sect. xxvii.

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the Lord's portion; Iſrael was the line of his inheritance. And, in another place, he ſaith; Behold, the Lord taketh to himſelf a nation from the midſt of the nations, as a man taketh the firſt-fruits from his corn-floor (*k*)." Under the raviſhing view of intereſt in this unſpeakable bleſſing of election, well may the excellent father add, as he does, preſently after; "Since, therefore, we are the portion of the Holy One, let us practiſe all the works of holineſs: avoiding ſlanders, and defiled and unchaſte embraces, drunkenneſs and innovations, together with abominable deſires, deteſtable adultery, and loathſome pride (*l*)." How far, how infinitely far, is the believing conſideration of God's electing love from leading to licentiouſneſs!

Nothing can be more ſcriptural, than this writer's doctrine concerning the ſovereignty and freeneſs of divine grace. "Let us," ſays he, "cloſely and ſtedfaſtly adhere to thoſe perſons, unto whom grace is given of God (*m*)." To this Grace, thus freely given, he aſcribes the exerciſe of the ſocial virtues: "Equity, and lowlineſs of mind, and meekneſs, are found in thoſe who are the bleſſed of God (*n*)." Speaking of the Old-Teſtament ſaints, he refers the whole of their good will, good works, juſtification and eternal felicity, to the diſcriminating favour and ſovereign pleaſure of God alone: "All theſe perſons were glorified and magnified, not by themſelves, or by their own works, or by the righteous practice which they wrought; but by his will. We too, being called by his will in Chriſt Jeſus, are juſtified, not by ourſelves, nor by our own wiſdom, or underſtanding, or piety, or by the works which we have

(*k*) Ibid. Sect. xxix. (*l*) Ibid. Sect. xxx.

(*m*) Let us be intimately aſſociated with the blameleſs and the righteous: for theſe are the elect of God. As much as to ſay: Innocency and righteouſneſs of life are the marks by which God's elect are viſibly and practically known and diſtinguiſhed.

(*n*) Ibid. Sect. xxx.

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performed in holineſs of heart; but by faith, whereby Almighty God hath, from eternity, juſtified all thoſe (*o*)," i. e. all thoſe whom it was his will to juſtify.

Clement eaſily foreſaw, that the doctrine of free grace and unmerited juſtification, as ſtated by him in the above paſſage; might be caviled at, by legaliſts and merit-mongers, as tending to the conſequential excluſion of good works. He, therefore, diſcreetly anticipates this cavil, by entering a juſt caveat againſt an inference ſo unnatural and malicious. What then ſhall we do, brethren?" ſays he, in the very next paragraph: "Shall we deſiſt from well-doing, and renounce our love" [to God and our neighbour]? "May the Sovereign Lord never permit this to befall us by any means! Nay, but let us be in haſte to accompliſh every good work, with earneſtneſs, and with full propenſity (*p*)."

He moſt carefully guards againſt the ſacrilegious encroachments of free-will and ſelf-righteouſneſs: "It is by Jeſus Chriſt, that we can ſtedfaſtly look into the heights of Heaven. It is by him, that we ſhall behold his ſpotleſs and moſt exalted countenance. By him the eyes of our heart have been opened. By him our fooliſh and dark underſtanding ſprings up afreſh into his marvellous light. It was the will of the Lord, that we ſhould, by him, taſte of that knowledge which can never die (*q*)." "He that made and formed us, hath introduced us into his world: having afore prepared his benefits for us, even before we were born. As, therefore, we have all things from him, we ought, for all things, to give him thanks (*r*)."

Diſſuading the Corinthians from caſting blocks of offence in each others way, he thus enforces his prohibition: "Remember the words of our Lord

(*o*) Ibid. Sect. xxxii.
(*p*) Ibid. Sect. xxxiii.
(*q*) Ibid. Sect. xxxvi.
(*r*) Ibid. Sect. xxxviii.

Jeſus:

Jeſus: for he hath ſaid, woe to that man; it were good for him rather not to have been born, than that he ſhould cauſe one of my elect people to ſtumble (*s*)." Though the elect themſelves may ſtumble, i. e. though it is poſſible for them both to offend, and to be offended; yet, according to Clement's Theology, none of them can finally miſs of glory. They ſhall all, eventually, be completely ſanctified, and made meet for the inheritance of the ſaints in light. "All the elect of God are made perfect in love (*t*)." He adds: It was of love, that the Lord accepted us. It was through the love which he bore to us, that our Lord Chriſt did, by the will of God, give his blood for us, and his fleſh in the room of our fleſh, and his ſoul in the room of ours." This eminent ſaint believed, and expreſſly aſſerts, that pardon of ſin does not extend beyond the pale of election. His words are theſe: "It is written, bleſſed are they, whoſe iniquities are remitted, and whoſe ſins are covered: bleſſed is the perſon, to whom the Lord will by no means impute ſin; nor is there deceit in his mouth. This bleſſedneſs accrues to thoſe who have been elected of God through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt (*u*)." The Royal Pſalmiſt was, no doubt, one of God's elect: and he is, accordingly, ſo ſtyled by our apoſtolic author: "elect David ſaith, I will confeſs unto the Lord, &c. (*x*)." I cannot cloſe my citations from St. Clement, more ſuitably, than with that moſt excellent prayer, which almoſt concludes his epiſtle; and which I moſt earneſtly beg of God the Holy Spirit to engrave indelibly on the reader's heart and mine: "May the all-ſeeing God, the Sovereign of ſpirits and the Lord of all fleſh, who hath elected the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and us into a peculiar people through him; grant, to each ſoul that calls on his holy and exalted name," the graces of "faith,

(*s*) Ibid. Sect. xlvi.
(*t*) Ibid. Sect. xlix.
(*u*) Ibid. Sect. l.
(*x*) Ibid. Sect. lii.

fear,

fear, peace, patience, long-ſuffering, temperance, purity, and ſoundneſs of judgment; through our high-prieſt and defender, Jeſus Chriſt (*y*)."

I have made the larger extracts from Barnabas and Clement, becauſe their two epiſtles appear to be the oldeſt remains of uncanonical antiquity. Indeed, the firſt epiſtle of Clement to the Corinthians was evidently compoſed many years prior to ſome of the writings of the New Teſtament itſelf. For, if that epiſtle (as there is the ſtrongeſt reaſon to believe) was antecedent to the final conqueſt of Jeruſalem by Titus, it muſt have been written conſiderably earlier than the Goſpel of St. John, his three Epiſtles, and the book of Revelation. A circumſtance, however, which I ſhould not have noticed here, had I not thought it neceſſary to offer ſome apology to my readers, for having detained them ſo long with theſe quotations, in a work, which, as I tranſcribe it from the rough copy, I am deſignedly rendering as conciſe as may conſiſt with juſtice to the argument. The genuine Epiſtles of Ignatius and Polycarp, though extremely ancient, yet are not of quite ſo high antiquity, as the two preceding: for which reaſon, I ſhall preſent the reader with the fewer citations; but thoſe ſufficiently weighty and expreſs, to convince any impartial, attentive enquirer, that theſe two venerable preachers and martyrs, were, in deed and in truth, earneſt contenders for the faith which was once delivered to the Saints.

III. Ignatius is ſaid to have been ordained biſhop of Antioch in Syria, A. D. 66 (*z*), and to have held that ſee for upwards of 40 years. He was a diſciple of St. John, and had the happineſs of being particularly intimate with that Apoſtle. Under the third

(*y*) Ibid. Sect. lviii.

(*z*) See the article Ignatius, in a work, entitled, The Great Hiſtorical, Geographical, and Poetical Dictionary. Edit. Lond. 1694.

general

general perſecution, i. e. about the year 107, Ignatius, having aſſerted the divinity of the Chriſtian religion in the emperor Trajan's own preſence, was ſentenced to be thrown to wild beaſts, on an amphitheatre at Rome: which was accordingly executed.

On his way from Antioch to Rome, this bleſſed priſoner of Chriſt, loaded with chains, and led as a ſheep to the ſlaughter, wrote thoſe ſix Epiſtles (of whoſe authenticity there ſeems no juſt reaſon to doubt), addreſſed to the Chriſtians in Epheſus, Magneſia Tralles, Rome, Philadelphia, and Smyrna. As to the Epiſtle inſcribed to Polycarp, though thought genuine by Voſſius, it is rejected as ſpurious by archbiſhop Uſher; and conſidered as doubtful, even by Dr. Cave.

In the exordium of his Epiſtle to the Smyrneans, Ignatius addreſſes them as "Filled with faith and love, and indefectible in every gift of grace (*a*)." And, indeed, the gifts of grace would ſtand us in little ſtead, if indefectibility was not their certain attendant. So far was this holy biſhop from doubting the final perſeverance of thoſe who are really endued "with faith and love;" that he tells them, in terms of the fulleſt aſſurance, "I glorify Jeſus Chriſt our God, who hath made you thus [ſpiritually] wiſe. For I have underſtood, that ye are knit firmly together in immovable faith, even as though ye were both in fleſh and ſpirit nailed to the croſs of Jeſus Chriſt our Lord; and that ye are made ſtedfaſt in love, through the blood of Chriſt (*b*)."

He believed the redemption wrought by Chriſt, to be co-extenſive with the Church of God's peculiar people: "Chriſt," ſays he, "ſuffered all theſe things on our account, that we might be ſaved (*c*)." He would not allow the grace of true repentance to

(*a*) Ignat. ad Smyrn. p. 1. Edit. Voſſii, Lond. 1680.
(*b*) Ibid. p. 1, 2. (*c*) Ibid. p. 2.

be in a man's own power: for, ſpeaking of ſome perſons, whom he ſtyles "wild beaſts in human ſhape," he adds, "you ought not only to refuſe receiving ſuch, but, if poſſible, you ſhould even avoid meeting them. You ought only to pray in their behalf, if they may by ſome means repent; which, however, is exceeding difficult: but the power of this" [viz. of making them repent] "reſts with Jeſus Chriſt our true life (*d*)."

Senſible of his inability to undergo the tortures of martyrdom, in his own ſtrength, he thus expreſſes his reliance on the ſtrength of grace: "The nigher to the ſword, the nigher to God. When ſurrounded with wild beaſts, I ſhall be encompaſſed with God. It is only by the name of Jeſus Chriſt, that I ſhall ſo endure all things, as to ſuffer with him; he enduing me with ſtrength, who was himſelf perfect man (*e*)."

That he held God's ſovereign and righteous præterition of ſome, appears from the following expreſſion: "Whom ſome men ignorantly deny; or, rather, have been denied of him (*f*)."

Nothing can breathe a more genuine ſenſe of chriſtian humility, than his abſolute renunciation of merit in all its branches: "It is by the will of God, that I have been vouchſafed this honour" [namely, the honour of being in chains for the goſpel:]"not from conſcience" [i. e. from my own uprightneſs, or conſcientiouſneſs], "but from the grace of God (*g*)." On the ſame principle, ſpeaking of one Burrhus, a deacon, who was to be the bearer of this Epiſtle to Smyrna, and from whoſe tender friendſhip Ignatius had reaped great conſolation, he thus prays in his behalf; "May grace make him retribution (*h*)."

(*d*) Ibid. p. 3.
(*e*) Ibid. p. 4.
(*f*) Ibid.
(*g*) Ibid. p. 8.
(*h*) Ibid. p. 9.

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His Epiſtle to the Epheſians opens thus: "Ignatius, who is alſo called Theophorus, to the Church which is at Epheſus in Aſia, bleſſed by the greatneſs and fulneſs of God the Father; predeſtinated ever, before time, unto the glory which is perpetual and unchangeable, united and choſen [i. e. fixed upon to be the everlaſting reſidence of the Saints] by the will of the Father, and of Jeſus Chriſt our God, through the true ſuffering (*i*)." That is, through the humiliation and ſufferings of Chriſt the true propitiation.

Congratulating the Epheſians, on the harmony which ſubſiſted among themſelves, he takes occaſion to intimate, that the Church, which is Chriſt's myſtic body, is as firmly united to Chriſt, as Chriſt himſelf is united to the Father (*k*). Is it poſſible to expreſs the infallible certainty of final perſeverance, in ſtronger terms? And would not one almoſt believe, that Ignatius deſigned the above paſſage as a comment on thoſe words of our Lord, becauſe I live, ye ſhall live alſo?

How remote he was from crying up the pretended abilities of free-will, may ſufficiently appear from what follows: "Carnal men," i. e. men unrenewed by the Almighty Spirit of God, "are not able to perform ſpiritual things---ye do all things," i. e. all ſpiritual things, "by Jeſus Chriſt (*l*)," or by grace and ſtrength derived from him.

In the inſcription of his Epiſtle to the Philadelphians, he obſerves, of the clergy of that Church, that Chriſt had, in purſuance of his own will, firmly eſtabliſhed them in ſtedfaſtneſs, by his holy ſpirit (*m*)." A glaring proof, that, in the judgment of Ignatius, ſaving grace is not that evanid, loſeable thing, which Arminianiſm repreſents it to be. As the acquiſition of it is not owing to the will of man;

(*i*) Epiſt. ad Eph. p. 16.
(*k*) Ibid. p. 20.
(*l*) Ibid. p. 22.
(*m*) Ep. ad Philad. p. 39.

ſo neither is it dependant on man's will for preſervation and continuance. In the courſe of the ſame Epiſtle, he has a ſimilar remark: "Although ſome have been deſirous of ſeducing me after the fleſh, yet that ſpirit, which is of God, is not ſeduced (*n*);" i. e. not to be ſeduced.

Making mention of one Agathopus, who attended him from Syria toward Rome, at the manifeſt hazard of life; he terms him "an elect perſon, who bears me company from Syria, having renounced the preſent life (*o*)." He ſtyles the Church at Tralles, "elect and eſteemed of God (*p*):" and, in the ſame Epiſtle, gives another very ſtrong atteſtation to the doctrine of final perſeverance. For, treating of ſome heretics, who denied the literality of Chriſt's ſufferings, he thus deſcants: "Avoid thoſe evil ſhoots" [that ſpring up by a Chriſtian Church, like ſuckers by the ſide of a tree], "which bring forth deadly fruit, whereof, if a man taſte, he preſently dies. Theſe are not of the Father's planting; for, if they were, the branches of the croſs would appear, and their fruit would be incorruptible" [i. e. imperiſhable and immortal]: "through which he doth by his paſſion [i. e. by virtue of his own ſufferings and death], "call you, who are his members. For the head cannot be born without the members: God, who is the ſame" [i. e. who is always himſelf, unchangeable, and without ſhadow of turning], "having paſſed his word for their union (*q*)." Yet, though this apoſtolic biſhop was thus rooted and grounded in a belief of the eſſential perpetuity of grace; he ſtill was of opinion (and ſo, I am confident, is every Calviniſt under Heaven), that, without conſtant and intenſe watching unto prayer, the exerciſe of grace is liable to a partial and temporary failure. "I am

(*n*) Ibid. p. 42.
(*o*) Ibid. p. 45.
(*p*) Ep. ad Trall. p. 46.
(*q*) Ibid. p. 52.

yet

yet in danger," ſays the bleſſed martyr: i. e. in danger, if left to my own ſtrength, of denying Chriſt with my mouth, in order to avoid the torments of death. But his ſelf-diffidence (and who can be too diffident of ſelf?) did not, however, make him loſe ſight of God's faithfulneſs to him, which, he well knew, could, alone, keep him faithful to God: for he immediately adds, in the very next words, "nevertheleſs, my Father in Jeſus Chriſt is faithful to fulfil your prayer and mine (*r*)." And ſo he found him to be. God did hear his prayer, and make him faithful unto death. Reader, may the ſame happy co-alition of fear and faith; may the moſt abſolute ſelf-diſtruſt, united with an unſhaken confidence in the ſtability of divine grace; be your portion, and mine, till we enter the haven of everlaſting joy: where we ſhall no longer ſtand in need of faith, to fill our ſails; nor of fear, to ſteady us with its ballaſt.

In his Epiſtle to the Romans, Ignatius has an obſervation, which ſhews, that he was far enough from holding the tenet of free-will, in the Arminian ſenſe of it: "A Chriſtian is not the workmanſhip of ſuaſion, but of greatneſs (*s*):" i. e. men become real Chriſtians, not by the power of moral argument, but by the mighty operation of divine agency. Whoever denies the ability of free-will, in ſpirituals; muſt, with that, deny the meritoriouſneſs of human works. And ſo did Ignatius. Witneſs that paſſage, where, ſpeaking of the ſavage treatment he received from the ſoldiers who were guarding him to Rome, he ſays, "They behave themſelves the worſe to me for my beneficence to them. I reap, however, the more inſtruction, from their injurious behaviour. Yet, I am not juſtified by this (*t*)." He knew, that neither the ſufferings,

(*r*) Ibid. p. 54.
(*s*) Ep. ad Rom. p. 57.
(*t*) Ibid. p. 58.

which he was enabled to endure for Chriſt; nor his kindneſs to his perſecutors; nor his improving their barbarities into profitable inſtruction; conſtituted any part of that righteouſneſs, for the ſake of which he was juſtified before God. He conſidered them as valuable fruits of the ſpirit, and as proofs of grace received: but not as matter of merit; not as cauſes or conditions, either of his preſent or future acceptance with the Majeſty of Heaven. Yet this conſideration did by no means render him negligent to obey, or reluctant to ſuffer. Warmed with the faith that works by love, his language was, Καλον εμοι αποθανειν δια Ιησων Χριστον, η βασιλευειν της περαλον της γης: "It is better for me to die for Jeſus Chriſt, than to be monarch of the whole earth (*u*)."

IV. Polycarp, biſhop of Smyrna, is, by many (among whom are Uſher and Cave), ſuppoſed to have been the perſon meant by the Angel of the Church in Smyrna, mentioned Rev. ii. 8. That he was one of the apoſtle John's diſciples, cannot be queſtioned, if ancient teſtimony be allowed to carry the leaſt weight. He was burnt alive for the Chriſtian faith, A. D. 167, or (as others) 169, in about the hundredth year of his age, and about the 74th of his epiſcopate.

We have one Epiſtle of his, written to the believers at Philippi. From this venerable, but conciſe performance, two or three ſhort extracts may ſuffice.

He terms the chains, with which many perſecuted Chriſtians were bound for their attachment to the goſpel, "The ornamental bracelets of them that have been really elected by God and our Lord (*x*)." For thoſe, who have been "really elected," he believed that the blood of Chriſt was ſhed: for he preſently adds, "Who ſubmitted to go unto death itſelf, for our ſins (*y*)." And, farther on; "It was

(*u*) Ibid. p. 59.
(*x*) Polycarpi Ep. ad Philipp. Sect. i. Edit. Coteler. (*y*) Ibid.

for

for us, that he underwent all things; that we might live through him (*z*)." Nor was he leſs ſound, in the article of gratuitous juſtification by the ſovereign will of God: "Into which joy," ſays he, "many are exceedingly deſirous to enter: knowing, that ye are ſaved by grace; not of works, but by the will of God through Jeſus Chriſt (*a*)."

Polycarp conſidered his own martyrdom for the faith, as an event which God had fore-ordained: for, in the prayer which he offered up, after he was bound to the ſtake with his hands behind him, was this expreſſion: "Among whom," i. e. among that company of foregoing martyrs, who had already ſet their lives as a ſeal to truth, "may I be received unto thee, this day, for a goodly and acceptable ſacrifice: even as thou, the faithful God, who canſt not lie, haſt fore-appointed, and didſt reveal to me beforehand, and haſt accordingly brought to paſs (*b*)." The ſame Chriſtians of Smyrna, who recorded their Biſhop's dying prayer, appear to have agreed in judgment with him, as to perſeverance, and the extent of our Lord's redemption: for, in their circular letter to the Churches, occaſioned by the martyrdom of their holy paſtor, they obſerve, the Jews and Heathens "do not know that we ſhall never be able to forſake Chriſt, who ſuffered for the ſalvation of the whole world of them that are ſaved (*c*)." They conclude their Epiſtle with this affectionate wiſh: "We pray for your health and happineſs, brethren; and that ye may, according to the goſpel, walk in the doctrine of Jeſus Chriſt: together with whom, be glory aſcribed to God, even our Father, and to the Holy Spirit, for ſaving the holy elect people (*d*)." A perſon, named Pionius, who, afterwards took a copy of the above congregational epiſtle; adds this pious prayer for himſelf:

(*z*) Ibid. Sect. viii. (*a*) Ibid. Sect. i.
(*b*) Epiſt. Eccleſ. Smyrn. de Martyris Polycarpi. Sect. xiv.
(*c*) Ibid. Sect. xvii. (*d*) Ibid. Sect. xxii.

"That the Lord Jeſus Chriſt would gather me alſo with his elect (*e*)."

By this time, it ſufficiently appears, that Mr. Sellon muſt be extremely deficient either in knowledge, or in honeſty (I am prone to think, in both;) elſe, even he would never have ventured to aſſert, that predeſtination, and its concomitant doctrines, "do not appear to have been held by any body, during the firſt four centuries from the Chriſtian æra." Calviniſm is, by no means, that novel thing, which it is for the intereſt of Arminianiſm to wiſh. What Mr. Sellon ſneeringly calls "The good old cauſe," is indeed an old cauſe, and a good one. The doctrines of grace muſt needs be good old doctrines, was it only becauſe they are ſo plentifully diffuſed through a good old book, called the Bible. We have, alſo, juſt ſeen, that they are likewiſe aſſerted by thoſe good old divines, who lived neareſt to the Apoſtles, and who were actually converſant with them. I have, moreover, ſhewn, again and again, and hope to give ſtill farther proof of it in the courſe of the preſent defence, that the ſaid good old doctrines are the doctrines of the good old Church of England, and were the avowed principles of her good old reformers. Whereas the tenets of Meſſieurs Weſley and Sellon are as bad as they are new. I mean new, comparatively ſpeaking: elſe they are, (as I intend to demonſtrate, before I have done with them) as old as Pelagius. But no ſcheme of errors, however grey, is of equal antiquity with the truths from which it deviates.

(*e*) Ibid. Sect. xxiv.

SECTION

SECTION VIII.

The Judgment of ſome eminent Chriſtians, who flouriſhed before the Reformation, concerning the Doctrines in Debate.

EVEN in the worſt and darkeſt of times, God has never left himſelf entirely without witneſs, nor permitted the truths of his goſpel to be totally exterminated. They have, ſometimes, lain to all outward appearance, in very few hands: but they have conſtantly ſubſiſted ſomewhere. The prophet Elijah once imagined, that himſelf was the only perſon who was kept faithful to God, amidſt that torrent of idolatry, which then overwhelmed the land of Iſrael. But what ſaid the anſwer of God unto him? I have reſerved to myſelf ſeven thouſand men who have not bowed the knee to the image of Baal. Even ſo then, at this preſent time alſo, there is, and at every time there has been and ſhall be, a remnant, according to the election of grace (*f*). However diſcouraging appearances may be, in ſeaſons either of perſecution, idolatry, or general profaneneſs; there are many known inſtances of divine preſervation; and many others, unknown by us, but noticed by him who knoweth them that are his (*g*).

Aſk now of the days that are paſt, which were before thee, and they will teſtify of his unfailing faithfulneſs, not only in enduing his people with faith, and love to the truth; but alſo in raiſing up ſome of them, to be witneſſes for Chriſt. Even within the circle of my contracted reading, I have met with accounts of many. A ſelect number of the moſt diſtinguiſhed ſhall, without farther cere-

(*f*) Rom. xi. 2—6 (*g*) 2 Tim. ii. 19.

mony,

mony, be introduced to Mr. Sellon: and I heartily wiſh he may profit by their acquaintance.

I. Among thoſe who may, with the ſtricteſt juſtice, be ſtyled, the morning ſtars of the Reformation, were the ancient and famous Churches of the Albigenſes and Waldenſes: ſo denominated from Alby, a city of Languedoc in France, where they abounded in great numbers: and afterwards, about the year 1170, from Peter Valdo (*h*), an opulent citizen of Lyons, by whom theſe excellent people were much countenanced and aſſiſted. Though ſome ſuppoſe them to have acquired the name of Waldenſes, quaſi Vallenſes, from their being extremely numerous in the valleys of Piedmont. Others, from the German (*i*) word waldt, which ſignifies a wood: woods being their frequent refuge from perſecution.

Dr. Allix, in his remarks on the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of theſe Churches, is, in general, prodigiouſly careful not to drop the leaſt hint concerning (what has been ſince called) the Calviniſm of thoſe Chriſtians. But the preſent learned biſhop of Briſtol has been more juſt and candid. His Lordſhip tells us, from Mezeray, that "they had almoſt the ſame opinions as thoſe who are now called Calviniſts (*k*)." It will, I apprehend, be eaſily made appear, that their opinions were not only almoſt, but altogether the ſame. Nor did they ſoon deviate

(*h*) "Omnium verò maximè notari meretur Petrus Valdo, civis Lugdunenſis; qui cùm dives eſſet, bona ſua omnia in pauperum uſum impendit: expoſitiſque, vernaculo ſermone, ſacris literis confluentem ad ſe multitudinem puriori fide imbuit." Joh. Alph. Turretini Hiſt. Eccl. Compend. p. 149. See a much larger account of this good man, in Uſher de Eccl. Chriſtian. Succeſſione, c. 8.

(*i*) Vide Maeſtrichtii Opera, p. 1121.

(*k*) Diſſertations on the Prophecies, vol. 3. p. 177. Lord Lyttelton has a ſimilar remark: who obſerves, that the doctrine of the Albigenſes, &c. "Was much the ſame with the Creed of the Proteſtant Churches in theſe days." Life of Henry II. vol. iv. p. 395. Octavo.

from

from the evangelical ſyſtem of their fore-fathers: for, ſo low down as the æra of the Reformation, I find that "they ſent to Zuinglius for teachers, and afterwards to Calvin: of whoſe ſentiments," add the compilers of the work I quote, "the remainder of them, called the Vaudois, continue to be (*l*)."

Their firſt riſe was of very conſiderable antiquity. The Romiſh Council, aſſembled, by order of pope Alexander III. at Tours, in May 1163, prohibited all perſons, under pain of excommunication, from having any intercourſe with theſe people; who are deſcribed as teaching and profeſſing "a damnable hereſy, long ſince ſprung up in the territory of Toulouſe (*m*)." Van Maeſtricht aſſures us, that they wrote againſt the errors and ſuperſtitions of the Church of Rome, in the year 1100 (*n*). According to Pilichdorffius (*o*), the Waldenſes themſelves carried up the date of their commencement as a body, as high as three hundred years after Conſtantine, i. e. to about the year 637. For my own part, I believe their antiquity to have been higher ſtill. I agree with ſome of our oldeſt and beſt Proteſtant divines, in conſidering the Albigenſes, or Waldenſes (for they were, in fact, one and the ſame), to have been a branch of that viſible Church, againſt which the gates of hell could never totally prevail; and that the uninterrupted ſucceſſion of Apoſtolical doctrine continued with them, from the primitive times, quite down to the Reformation: ſoon after which period, they ſeem to have been melted into the common maſs of Proteſtants. Neither does this conjecture limit the extent of the viſible Church in former

(*l*) Great Hiſt. Dict. art. Albig.

(*m*) Bower's Hiſt. of the Popes, vol. vi. p. 128.

(*n*) "Imprimis etiam veritati Teſtimonium præbuerunt Eccleſiæ Waldenſes; earumque Confeſſiones, Catecheſes, jam Anno MC. ſcriptæ adverſus errores & ſuperſtitiones Eccleſiæ Romanæ." Opera, p. 1120.

(*o*) Vide Uſſerium, de Chriſt. Eccleſiar. Succeſſ. cap. 8. p. 109.

ages,

ages, to ſo narrow a compaſs, as may at firſt be imagined. For they were, ſays Poplinerius (*p*), "Diffuſed, not only throughout all France, in the year 1100, but through almoſt every country in Europe. And," ſays he, "to this very day, they have their ſtubborn partizans in France, Spain, England, Scotland, Italy, Germany, Bohemia, Saxony, Poland, Lithuania, and other nations."

Archbiſhop Uſher, whoſe enquiries were never ſuperficial, and whoſe concluſions are never precipitate, lays great ſtreſs on a remarkable paſſage in Reinerius, a Popiſh inquiſitor, who died about the year 1259. The paſſage is this: "Of all the ſects which as yet exiſt, or ever have exiſted, none is more detrimental to the Church," i. e. to the Romiſh Church, "than the ſect of the Waldenſes. And this on three acounts: 1. Becauſe it is a much more ancient ſect than any other. For, ſome ſay, that it has continued ever ſince the Popedom of Silveſter (*q*): others, that it has ſubſiſted from the time of the Apoſtles. 2. It is a more extenſive ſect than any other: for there is almoſt no country, in which this ſect has not a footing. 3. This ſect has a mighty appearance of piety: inaſmuch as they live juſtly before men, and believe all things rightly concerning God, and all the articles contained in the Creed. They only blaſpheme the Roman Church and Clergy (*r*)."

I have premiſed enough, concerning the people. Let us now enquire into the particulars of their faith.

There is extant, a ſhort Waldenſian Confeſſion, written in the year 1120, and conſiſting of XIV.

(*p*) Apud Uſher. u. ſ. p. 106.

(*q*) There were two Popes of this name. Silveſter I. died A. D. 335. Silveſter II. A. D. 1003.

(*r*) Uſher De Succeſs. p. 78. Dr. Cave alſo lays as much ſtreſs on this teſtimony as does archbiſhop Uſher: ſee his Hiſtoria Literaria, vol. i. p. 632. And ſo does the great Spanhemius, Oper. vol. iii. col. 1129.

Articles.

Articles. The 1ſt Article profeſſes their agreement with, what is uſually termed, The Apoſtles Creed. The 2d acknowledges Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, to be the one God. The 3d recapitulates the canonical books of the Old and New Teſtament, juſt as they now ſtand in the Proteſtant Bibles; and excepts againſt the Apocrypha, as uninſpired. The 4th aſſerts, that, "By the diſobedience of Adam, ſin entered into the world, and we are made ſinners in Adam, and by Adam." The 5th runs thus: "Chriſt was promiſed to our forefathers; who received the law, to the end that, knowing their ſin by the law, and their unrighteouſneſs and inſufficiency, they might deſire the coming of Chriſt, to ſatisfy for their ſins, and, by himſelf, to accompliſh the law." The 6th affirms, that "Chriſt was born at the time appointed by God his Father." The 7th, "Chriſt is our life and truth, and peace and righteouſneſs, and advocate, and maſter, and prieſt: who died for the ſalvation of all thoſe who believe, and is raiſed again for our juſtification (*s*)." Six of the remaining articles are leveled at the ſuperſtitions of Popery: and the laſt teſtifies their due ſubjection to the civil powers.

Almoſt 400 years afterwards, the deſcendants of thoſe ancient and evangelical Churches gave proof, that they were, in no reſpect whatever, degenerated from the purity and ſimplicity of the goſpel. For, in the beginning of the year 1508, I find them preſenting a large account of their faith, in three ſeparate papers addreſſed to Uladiſlaus, king of Hungary. "We believe," ſay they, "and confeſs, that Almighty God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, three in perſon, but one in the eſſence of Deity, is the producer of faith and the giver of ſalvation (*t*)." They

(*s*) Hiſtory of the Popes, vol. i. p. 423, 424.

(*t*), "Credimus & fatemur, ſatorem atque fidei ſalutis datorem eſſe Deum Omnipotentum, in Deitatis ſubſtantiâ unum, in perſonis verò

They ſay, ſpeaking of Chriſt, "By whoſe merit the alone Father accompliſhes our ſalvation, according to the purpoſe of his own election (*u*)." They affirm, that "he intercedes for thoſe who ſhall poſſeſs the inheritance of glory (*x*):" and that "he forſaketh not his Church, for which he offered up himſelf unto death;" but is ever preſent with her, "in a way of grace, efficacy, and help, which are his free gift (*y*)." They define the holy, univerſal Church to be "the aggregate of all the elect, from the beginning of the world to the end of it:---whoſe names and number he alone can tell, who hath inſcribed them in the Book of Life (*z*)." To theſe perſons, grace is given: "The firſt and principal miniſtry of the univerſal Church, is the goſpel of Chriſt, wherein are revealed the grace and truth which he hath painfully purchaſed for us by the torture of the croſs; which grace is given to the elect, who are called by the Holy Ghoſt and God the Father unto ſalvation, with the gift of faith (*a*)." Under the article, entitled *Communio Sanctorum*, they come, if poſſible, more roundly to the point. Nothing can be clearer, than their meaning; though the perſons, who drew up the confeſſion, were far from commanding a good ſtyle in Latin. "It is

verò Trinum, Patrem, Filium, Spiritumque Sanctum." *Faſcic. Rer. fug. & expet.* vol. i. p. 163.

(*u*) "Cujus merito, ſolus genitor, ſecundùm propoſitum electionis ſuæ, ſalutem operatur." Ibid.

(*x*) "Qui, in ſolo gratiæ reſidens fidelis advocatus, interpellat pro his, qui hæreditatem gloriæ percepturi ſunt." Ibid.

(*y*) "Eccleſiam ſuam, pro quâ ſeipſum obtulit ad mortis ſupplicium, gratiâ, virtute, auxilioque, dono gratuito, non deſerit." Ibid.

(*z*) "Credimus, ſanctam Catholicam eccleſiam—eſſe numerum omnium electorum, à mundi exordio, uſque ipſius conſummationem:—quorum nomina, numerumque, ille ſolus ſcit, qui ea in vitæ libro exaravit." Ibid. p. 164.

(*a*) "Primum & potiſſimum Miniſterium Eccleſiæ Catholicæ, eſt Evangelium Chriſti; quo gratia & veritas, crucis tormento laboriosè acquiſita, manifeſtatur: quæ gratia electis, vocatis dono fidei à ſpiritu ſancto, deoque patri, in ſalutem largitur." Ibid.

manifeſt,"

manifeſt," ſay they, "that ſuch only, as are elected to glory, become partakers of true faith, grace, righteouſneſs in the merit of Chriſt, [and] eternal ſalvation (*b*)."

What they deliver concerning the doctrine of purgatory, though rather uncouthly expreſſed, deſerves to be lain before the reader. "There is no other chief place of determinate purgatory, but the Lord Chriſt; of whom it was truly ſaid by the angel, he ſhall ſave his people from their ſins. And ſo ſaith St. Paul: having made a purgation of ſins, he ſat down on the right hand of the Majeſty on high. Every one, therefore, who ſhall be ſaved, muſt draw from this full fountain of righteouſneſs and goodneſs. By grace alone, through the gift of faith, whoſoever is to be ſaved, cometh to the purgation by Chriſt Jeſus; as ſaith St. Paul: a man is not juſtified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jeſus Chriſt; and we believe in Chriſt Jeſus, that we may be juſtified by the faith of Chriſt, and not by the works of the law. And Chriſt himſe f ſaith, he that believeth on me, hath eternal life (*c*)."

I take leave of this confeſſion, with one citation more. St. Paul ſays, Chriſt loved his Church, and gave himſelf for it, that he might ſanctify it, &c. It is not ſaid that he might prepare her for hell; but for heaven, and for repoſe, after her preſent toils. For it is certain, that only the elect of God

(*b*) "Palam itaque eſt, quod tantummodò electi, veræ fidei, gratiæ, juſtitiæ in Chriſti merito, ad gloriam, ſalutis æternæ participes ſunt." Ibid. p. 167.

(*c*) "Nullus alius locuſt eſt principalis certi purgatorii, niſi dominus Chriſtus de quo rectè eſt dictum ab angelo, ipſe enim ſalvum faciet populum ſuum à peccatis eorum. Et ſic dicit ſanctus Paulus: purgationem peccatorem faciens, ſedet ad dexterum Majeſtatis in excelſis.——Et omnis, qui ſalvabitur, oportet eum de hoc fonte ſumere pleno juſtitiæ & æquitatis:——ex ſolâ gratiâ, per donum fidei, quiſquis ſalvandus venit ad purgatorium per Jeſum Chriſtum: ut dicit ſanctus Paulus; non juſtificatur homo ex operibus legis, &c. Ibid. page 178.

are

are bleſſed; and God leadeth them into that righteouſneſs, which we have already treated of. Concerning them, the apoſtle ſaith, he hath elected us in him, before the foundation of the world, that we ſhould be holy and blameleſs before him in love. And again, he ſaith; whom he did predeſtinate, them he alſo called; and whom he called, them he alſo juſtified (*d*)."

Archbiſhop Uſher preſents us with another conciſe profeſſion of faith, tranſmitted by theſe good people to Francis I. of France, in the year 1544: which, though ſubſequent to the opening of the Reformation, is too excellent to be wholly unnoticed in this place. A ſingle extract, however, ſhall ſuffice. "We believe, that there is but one God; who is a ſpirit, the maker of all things, the parent of all men; who is over all, through all, and in us all, and is to be worſhipped in ſpirit and in truth, whom alone we hope for; the diſtributor of life, food, and raiment; the diſtributor alſo of health and ſickneſs, of conveniences and inconveniences. Him we love, as the author of all goodneſs: him we dread, as the inſpector of hearts.

We believe Jeſus Chriſt to be the Son and image of the Father, in whom dwelleth all the fulneſs of the godhead; by whom we come to the knowledge of the Father, and who is our mediator and advocate: neither is there any other name under Heaven, given unto men, whereby to be ſaved.

"We believe that we poſſeſs the Holy Ghoſt, the comforter, proceeding from the Father and the

(*d*) "Sanctus Paulus dicit, Chriſtus dilexit eccleſiam, et ſemetipſum tradidit pro ea, ut illam ſanctificaret, &c. Non ut pararet eam in infernum; ſed in cœlum, in quietem, poſt præſentes labores. Quia certum eſt, quòd ſoli beati ſunt electi Dei; & illos ducit Deus in eam juſtitiam, quam ſuperiùs poſuimus; de quibus apoſtolus dicit, elegit nos in ipſo, ante conſtitutionem mundi, ut eſſemus ſancti et immaculati in conſpectu ejus in charitate. Et iterum dicit; quos prædeſtinavit, hos et vocavit: & quos vocavit, hos & juſtificavit." Ibid. 179.

Son;

Son; by whoſe inſpiration, we are enabled to pray; and by whoſe efficacy, we are born again. He it is, who worketh all good works in us; and by him are we led into all truth.

"We believe that there is one Holy Church, viz. The congregation of all God's elect, from the beginning to the end of the world, whoſe head is our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Which Church is governed by the word, and led by the ſpirit of God.

"We believe, that the pious, and thoſe who fear God, will approve themſelves unto him, by being ſtudious of good works, which God hath prepared before hand, that they ſhould walk in them: ſuch are love, joy, peace, patience, kindneſs, honeſty, modeſty, temperance, and what other works we find applauded in Scripture (*e*)." It would, perhaps, be difficult to meet with ſo much genuine goſpel, compriſed within ſo ſmall a compaſs, in any writings, except the inſpired. If the reader be de-

(*e*) "Credimus unum tantùm eſſe Deum, qui ſpiritus eſt, rerum cunctarum conditor, pater omnium, ſuper et per omnia, in nobis omnibus, adorandus in ſpirtu & veritate, quem ſolum expectamus; datorum vitæ, alimentorum, indumentorum, proſperæ item valetudinis, infirmitatis, commodorum, & incommodorum. Hunc diligimus, tanquam omnis bonitatis autorem; &, ceu cordium inſpectorem, timemus.

"Jeſum Chriſtum credimus eſſe patris filium & imaginem; in quo omnis plenitudo Deitatis habitat; per quem cognoſcimus patrem; qui noſter eſt mediator & advocatus; nec ullum aliud ſub cœlo nomen hominibus datum eſt, per quod ſervari nos oporteat.

"Credimus nos habere conſolatorem, ſpiritum ſanctum, à patre & filio procedentem; cujus inſpiratione precamur, & efficaciâ regeneramur. Is in nobis omnia bona opera efficit: atque per eum in omnem deducimur veritatem.

"Credimus unam ſanctam eccleſiam, omnium electorum Dei, à conſtitutione ad finem mundi, congregationem: cujus caput eſt dominus noſter Jeſus Chriſtus. Hanc verbum Dei gubernat, ſpiritus ſanctus ducit.——

"Pios et Deum timentes credimus Deo ſe probaturos ut bonis vacent operibus, quæ præparavit ut in eis ambulent. Hæc autem opera ſunt charitas, gaudium, pax, patientia, benignitas, probitas, modeſtia, temperantia, aliaque opera in ſcripturis commendata." Uſher, De Succeſſion, cap. 10, p. 151.

ſirous to know the horrid and almoſt unparalleled perſecutions, which the Albigenſes ſuffered at the hands of the Romiſh Church, from age to age (after the more open apoſtacy of that Church from the original faith of the goſpel), even to the extinction of no fewer than ten hundred thouſand lives; he may, among others, conſult that excellent work, entitled, The (*f*) Hiſtory of Popery (a book, which it is pity that any Proteſtant ſhould be without) and Mr. Samuel Clarke's General (*g*) Martyrology. That moſt excellent prince, Lewis XII. of France, was actuated by a better ſpirit. When incited to perſecute the Waldenſes, he returned this truly great reply: God forbid that I ſhould perſecute any for being more religious than myſelf.

From whole Churches, let us, for the preſent, paſs to particular perſons.

Gotteſchalcus, ſometime a benedictine monk in the monaſtery of Orbez, and dioceſe of Soiſſons, flouriſhed about A. D. 840. He is thought to have obtained the ſir-name of Fulgentius, or the Shining, on account of his uncommon attainments in literature (*h*); though, perhaps, his agreement in doctrine with the famous Fulgentius (biſhop of Ruſpæ, in Africa, who was counted the St. Auſtin of his age, and died in the year 533) might have given the firſt occaſion to calling him by that name.

Archbiſhop Uſher has written the hiſtory (*i*) of this worthy and learned perſon, and of the controverſies concerning predeſtination and free-will, which his (i. e. Gotteſchalcus's) writings and ſufferings were the means of reviving in the ninth century. To this elaborate performance of the great prelate, I

(*f*) Comprized in two volumes, ſmall quarto; and printed at London, 1735.

(*g*) Folio, London, 1660.

(*h*) Cave's Hiſt. Liter. vol. i. p. 558.

(*i*) Entitled, Gotteſchalci, & Prædeſtinatianæ Controverſiæ ab eo motæ, Hiſtoria. Dublinii, 1631.

ſtand

ſtand indebted for moſt of the particulars which I am now going to lay before the reader.

It ſeems uncertain, whether Gotteſchalcus was a native of Germany, or of France. His name appears to indicate the former (*k*).

His deep acquaintance with the writings of St. Auſtin brought him into love with the doctrines of grace; and he determined to avow them, at all events. In ſuch a Church as the Roman, and in a period of ſuch religious darkneſs as the ninth age, it was no wonder that his ardent eſpouſal of the evangelical ſyſtem, and the unyielding firmneſs with which he openly maintained it, ſhould involve him in a ſeries of perſecution, which, at length, ſunk him to his grave.

Hincmar was made archbiſhop of Rheims, A. D. 845, and ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf as Gotteſchalcus's inexorable oppreſſor. This prelate had a mind, unſoftened with any one of the humane feelings (*l*): and, for his religion, it was Chriſtianity reverſed. Mean, ſanguinary, and imperious, by nature; he had, moreover, imbibed ſome of the groſſeſt dregs of Pelagianiſm (*m*): which he obtruded on others, with an enthuſiaſtic vehemence, bordering on madneſs; and with a fierceneſs, nothing ſhort of brutal. From a metropolitan, thus diſpoſed, and thus prin-

(*k*) Gott enim Germanis Deum, Schalck ſervum, denotat. ut Gotteſchalcus Θεοδουλος, ſive Dei ſervum, ſonet. Uſſerii Goteſc. p. 14.

(*l*) He cauſed his own nephew and names-ſake, Hincmar, biſhop of Laon, to be depoſed from his ſee, in 871, and thrown into priſon, where both his eyes were put out; becauſe, in a diſpute between the Pope and the French King, he had ſided with the former, contrary to the judgment of his uncle.

(*m*) Nor was he a Pelagian only, but a violent Anti-trinitarian alſo; as appears from the following remarkable incident, mentioned by Dr. Cave: "Interiit liber à Ratramno ſcriptus pro defenſione hymni cujuſdam vetuſti, cui verſiculum iſtum [te Trina Deitas unaque poſcimus] Hincmarus expungi juſſerat; te ſumma Deitas, deinceps, in eccleſiâ ſuâ, cantari præcipiens." Hiſt. Lit. p. 530. ſub Art. Bertramus.

cipled; armed, too, with that extent of authority, which eccleſiaſtics of his rank then poſſeſſed; Gotteſchalcus had nothing to look for, but that unrelenting hatred and ſeverity, which ſuperior merit [eſpecially, when it ventures to deviate from the beaten path] ſeldom fails to experience, at the hands of thoſe, in whom ignorance and bigotry are united with the powers of miſchief.

Among the articles which Hincmar charged this holy man with maintaining, were the three following (*n*).

1. That, "As God hath predeſtinated certain perſons to life eternal; ſo hath he, likewiſe, preordained other certain perſons to eternal death.

2. "It is not the will of God, that every one of mankind ſhould be ſaved: he willeth the ſalvation of thoſe only who [eventually] are ſaved. All are ſaved, whom God wills to ſave: conſequently, whoever periſh, it was not the divine pleaſure to ſave them. For, if all thoſe who are not ſaved, whom God willeth to be ſo; it would follow, that God does not act according to his own will: and, if he wills more than he is able to perform, he is no longer omnipotent, but impotent; but the Scripture affirms that he is omnipotent; for he doth whatſoever he pleaſed to do. All things that the Lord would, hath he done, in heaven, and in earth, in the ſea, and in all deep places, Pſalm cxxxv. 6. Again; O Lord, the King Almighty, the whole world is in thy power; and, if thou haſt appointed to ſave Iſrael, there is no man that can gainſay thee. Thou art Lord of all things, and there is no man that can reſiſt thee who art the Lord. Eſther xiii. 9. 11.

3. "Our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt was not crucified and put to death for the redemption of the entire world, i. e. not for the ranſom and ſalvation

(*n*) Uſſerii Gotteſch. p. 15, 16.——Necnon Voſſii Hiſtor. Pelagian. l. 7. par. 4. p. 738.

of

of the whole of mankind; but only for ſuch as are ſaved."

To theſe were afterwards added, as doctrines of Gotteſchalcus:

"They who are predeſtinated to deſtruction, cannot be ſaved; and they who are predeſtinated to the kingdom, cannot periſh.

"Ever ſince the firſt man fell by his free-will, none of us are able to uſe their free-wills unto good, but only to evil (*o*)."

Gotteſchalcus's opinions were, undoubtedly, ſtated by Hincmar in the moſt rigorous and exceptionable terms. For this reaſon, let us hear the judicious and learned martyr ſpeak for himſelf. This he continues to do, in two ſeparate confeſſions of his faith, penned by his own hand, and which are, happily, ſtill preſerved (*p*).

"I believe," ſays he, "and acknowledge, that the Almighty and unchangeable God gratuitouſly foreknew and predeſtinated the holy angels, and elect men, unto life eternal.------St. Auſtin aſks, 'Wherefore, ſaid our Lord to the Jews, ye believe not, becauſe ye are not of my ſheep? Becauſe' (ſaith Auſtin) 'our Lord perceived that they were predeſtinated to everlaſting deſtruction, and were not purchaſed with the price of his blood. What miſchief, then, can the wolf do? What hurt can the thief and robber do? They can deſtroy thoſe only who are predeſtinated thereunto.' The ſame St. Auſtin, ſpeaking of the two worlds, expreſſes himſelf thus: 'The Church is an (*q*) whole world, and there is alſo an whole world which hateth the

(*o*) Uſſer. Ibid. p. 28.

(*p*) Apud Uſſer. Ibid. à p. 211. ad p. 237.

(*q*) Witſius has a ſimilar thought; but much more elegantly expreſſed. "Electi fideles, poſt vocationem efficacem, & conſiderati cum exornante eos gratiâ Dei; licet minor, melior tamen mundi pars, et immundi mundi mundus ſunt.' De Oecon. Fœd. l. 2. c. 9. ſ. 13.

Church. The world' [of the reprobate] 'hateth the world' [of the elect]: 'the world of thoſe who are at enmity with God, hateth that world which is reconciled to him; the world of the condemned hateth the world of the ſaved; the world of the impure hateth the world of the holy.' Auſtin ſaith again: 'There is a world, of which the apoſtle ſays, That we ſhould not be condemned with the world, 1 Cor. ii. 32. For this world, our Lord doth not pray.' So alſo ſpeaketh St. (*r*) Iſidore; 'There is a double predeſtination: of the elect, unto happineſs; and of the reprobate, unto death.' (*s*)."

The above extract is from Gotteſchalcus's ſmaller confeſſion. His larger one runs in the form of a moſt pious and ſolemn addreſs to Almighty God. It were needleſs to cite any parts of it, after what has been already produced. Whoever pleaſes, may ſee it, at full length, in Uſher's Hiſtory, referred to below.

For thus believing, the great and good man was degraded from the order of prieſthood, and impriſoned in the monaſtery of Hault-Villier. He was, moreover, ſentenced to undergo the

(*r*) I ſuppoſe, the perſon, here quoted by Gotteſchalcus, was that Iſidore, who fixed his ſeat of retirement at, or near, Peluſium (now Belbeis) in Egypt; whence he is commonly called, Iſiaorus Peluſiota. He flouriſhed about A. D. 412.

(*s*) Credo et confiteor, Deum omnipotentem et incommutabilem præſcîſſe et prædeſtinâſſe angelos ſanctos, et homines electos, ad vitam gratis æternam.——Beatus Auguſtinus——ità dicit,——*Quare dicit dominus Judæis, vos non creditis, quia non eſtis ex ovibus meis? Niſi quia videbat eos ad ſempiternum interitum prædeſtinatos, non ad vitam æternam ſui ſanguinis pretio comparatos.——Quid poteſt lupus? Quid poteſt fur & latro? non perdit niſi ad interitum prædeſtinatos.* Item, de duobus loquens mundis: *Totus mundus eccleſia eſt, & totus mundus odit eccleſiam. Mundus igitur odit mundum: inimicus, reconciliatum: damnatus ſalvatum: inquinatus, mundatum.* Item. *Eſt mundus, de quo dicit apoſtolus. Ne cum hoc mundo damnemur. Pro iſto mundo dominus non rogat.* Unde dicit & S. Iſidorus: *Gemina eſt prædeſtinatio, ſive electorum ad requiem; ſive reproborum, ad mortum.*" Apud Uſſer. u. ſ. p. 211, 212.

puniſhment

puniſhment of ſcourging: which inhuman diſcipline was continually repeated, with the moſt mercileſs ſeverity, 'till, by mere dint of torture, they had compelled him to commit one of his own books to the flames, which he had written, in favour of predeſtination, againſt Rabon, archbiſhop of Mentz. His ſufferings might, at any time, have been exchanged for liberty and eaſe, had he but diſſembled his judgment, and ceaſed to avow his faith. But he was enabled to continue ſtedfaſt, to the very laſt. No torments could induce him to deny, with his mouth, the grace which he loved in his heart. In him was eminently realized that ſaying aſcribed to Ignatius: Stand firm as a beaten anvil. It is the part of a magnanimous combatant, to be torn to pieces, and yet to overcome (*t*).

I have termed Gotteſchalcus a martyr. And ſuch, in fact, he was. I grant his execution was more tedious and lingering, than that of thoſe who are uſually crowned with that venerable name. His ſufferings did not terminate with the pain of an hour, but were extended through a long ſeries of years: and nothing, inferior to the Almighty power of God, could have kept him faithful unto death. Exhauſted, at length, by an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of hardſhips, he breathed out his ſoul into the hands of Chriſt, A. D. 870, in about the one and twentieth year of his impriſonment. Hincmar, to whoſe reſtleſs perſecutions this man of God ſtood indebted for moſt of his calamities, did not always ride triumphant on the wheel of proſperity. About twelve years after the death of Gotteſchalcus, the Nordmans, ſwarming from the North of Europe, made irruptions into France; on which, the prelate of Rheims thought proper to conſult his perſonal ſafety, by deſerting his flock. Abdicating, there-

(*t*) Ignat. ad Polyc.

fore, the ſee, which he had ſo unworthily filled, he retreated *(Barbarus à Barbaris)* to a more ſolitary and ſecure part of the kingdom: in which melancholy retirement, ſurrounded with woods and moraſſes, he died (probably of a broken heart) A. D. 882.

III. Remigius, archbiſhop of Lyons, and Gotteſchalcus's cotemporary, deſerves to be mentioned here, as an eminent aſſertor of the doctrines of grace.

Hincmar of Rheims had written a letter of complaint againſt Gotteſchalcus, addreſſed to the Church of Lyons. This was replied to by Remigius; part of whoſe anſwer ran thus. "The bleſſed fathers of the Church do, with one conſent, with one voice, and as it were with one ſpirit, diſplay and celebrate that immoveable truth of God's preſcience and predeſtination, reſpecting both its parts, viz. concerning the elect, and reprobate: to wit, [the predeſtination] of the elect, unto glory; and of the reprobate, not unto ſin, but unto puniſhment. And in theſe particulars, they [i. e. the fathers] openly affirm that the unchangeable ſeries of God's diſpoſals is demonſtrated to us; which divine diſpoſals are not temporal, neither did they commence in any period of time, but are ſtrictly eternal. Nor is it poſſible for any one elect perſon to periſh: or that any of the reprobate ſhould be ſaved, becauſe of their hardneſs and impenitency of heart. This both the verity of the ſacred writings, and the authority of the holy and orthodox fathers, harmoniouſly declare, and inculcate on us, as a point to be believed and held by us without the leaſt doubt or ſcruple. Purſuant to the foregoing account of the univerſal faith, Almighty God did, from the beginning, prior to the formation of the world, and before he had made any thing, predeſtinate (for certain juſt, and immutable reaſons of his eternal counſel) ſome certain perſons to glory, of his own gratuitous favour: of which certain perſons, not one

one ſhall periſh, through his mercy protecting them. Other certain perſons he hath predeſtinated to perdition, by his juſt judgment, for the evil deſert of their ungodlineſs, which he foreknew: and, of theſe, none can be ſaved. Not becauſe of any compulſive violence offered them by the divine power, but becauſe of the ſtubborn and perſevering naughtineſs of their own iniquity (*u*)." Remigius expreſſes himſelf with a prudential guardedneſs, which reflects no little honour on his judgment. He acknowledged, as the preſent Calviniſts alſo do, 1. That there moſt certainly are a two-fold preſcience and predeſtination, terminating on two ſorts of perſons, the elect and reprobate. 2. That God's diſpoſals, or decrees, are ſtrictly eternal: and, 3. That they are unchangeable. 4. That, conſequently, not one elect perſon can periſh; nor, 5. any reprobate be ſaved. 6. That the election of the former

(*u*) "Ecce beatiſſimi patres eccleſiæ uno ſenſu, uno ore, quia & uno ſpiritu, Divinæ præſcientiæ & prædeſtinationis immobilem veritatem, in utrâque parte, electorum, ſcilicet & reproboum, prædicant & commendant: electorum utique, ad gloriam; reproborum verò, non ad culpam, ſed ad pœnam. Et in his, non temporalium, neque ex alioquo tempore inchoantium, ſed ſempiternarum, diſpoſitionum Dei immutabilem ordinem nobis demonſtrari confirmant: nec aliquem electorum poſſe perire, nec ullum reproborum (propter duritiam & impœnitentiam cordis ſui) poſſe ſalvari. Hoc et Divinarum ſcripturarum veritas, et ſanctorum atque orthodoxorum patrum auctoritas conſtantèr annuntiant, indubitantèr nobis credendum & tenendum inculcant.——Juxta præmiſſam Catholicæ fidei rationem, omnipotens Deus, ante conſtitutionem mundi, antequàm quicquam faceret, à principio, certis et juſtis atque immutabilibus cauſis æterni conſilii ſui, quoſdam ad regnum, gratuitâ bonitate ſuâ, ex quibus nemo ſet periturus, protegente miſericordiâ ſuâ; et quoſdam prædeſtinaverit ad interitum, juſto judicio ſuo, propter meritum, quod præſcivit, impietatis eorum, ex quibus nemo poſſit ſalvari. Non propter violentiam aliquam Divinæ poteſtatis; ſed propter indomabilem et perſeverantem nequitiam propriæ iniquitatis." Remigius, apud Uſſer. Gotteſc. p. 29.

The maſterly comment of Remigius, on that controverted paſſage, Who will have all men to be ſaved and to come to the knowledge of the truth, 1 Tim. ii. 4. may be ſeen at large, in Uſher, u. ſ. p. 31. I wiſh it was not too prolix for inſertion here.

mer was abſolutely gratuitous and unmerited: 7. That the puniſhment of the latter (obſerve: not their reprobation itſelf, but their perdition, or actual damnation) is owing to their foreſeen ungodlineſs. Which foreſeen ungodlineſs reſults, 8. not from any compulſive force offered to them, or put upon them by God himſelf, but from that "ſtubborn and perſevering naughtineſs of their own iniquity," which God is, indeed, able to remove, but under the power and guilt of which it is his inſcrutable will to leave them.

Among the illuſtrious partizans of grace, I muſt not omit to number,

IV. Florus, ſirnamed Magiſter, a deacon of the Church of Lyons: who, about A. D. 852, publiſhed A Defence of Predeſtination, in oppoſition to a Semipelagian treatiſe on that ſubject, written by the famous ſcholaſtic, Duns Scotus. The drift of Florus's book (drawn up, it ſeems, in the name of the whole Church of Lyons) was, ſays Voſſius, to prove, that "That there is a double predeſtination: viz. of ſome, who are elected into life; and of others, who are deſtined to death. That men have, by nature, no free-will, except to what is evil. That the elect are compelled to good. But that the reprobate are not compelled to ſin: they are only compelled to undergo the puniſhment which, by ſin, they have merited (*x*)." I am inclinable to doubt, whether Voſſius (whoſe "Pelagian Hiſtory" might, with more truth, be ſtyled, An Apology for Pelagianiſm) has, in the above paſſage, ſtated the Theſes of Florus with ſufficient candour. I can hardly ſuppoſe a man of the judgment and learning, which Florus ſeems to have poſſeſſed, would ever aſſert, that "The elect are compelled to what is good." We may, perhaps, learn his ſentiments on this ſubject, with greater certainty and preciſion, from

(*x*) Voſſii Hiſtor. Pelagian. p. 745.

his

his own words, largely cited by archbiſhop Uſher (*y*).

"Our Lord himſelf," ſays Florus, "plainly ſhews, that the very firſt commencement of what good we have, is not of ourſelves, but of him: Ye have not choſen me, but I have choſen you; John xv. 16. Thus likewiſe the apoſtle ſpeaks to believers: He who hath begun a good work in you, will perfect it even unto the day of Chriſt; Phil. i. 6. And again; Unto you it is given, in Chriſt's behalf, not only to believe, but alſo to ſuffer for his ſake; Phil. i. 29. The bleſſed apoſtle, St. John, affirms, Not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and gave his Son to be the propitiation for our ſins; 1 John iv. 10. And again, a bleſſed apoſtle ſays, Let us run, with patience, the race that is ſet before us, looking unto Jeſus the author and the finiſher of our faith; Heb. xii. 2. If, therefore, we deſire to be true members of the univerſal Church, let us faithfully put all to the account of grace. The Lord chuſeth his ſaints; not they him. God himſelf both begins and accompliſhes what is good, in his believers. He firſt loves his ſaints, in order that they may alſo love him. Man has not, of himſelf, a will to that which is good: neither has he of himſelf, the power to perform a good work. Both one and the other are received from him, of whom the apoſtle ſaith, It is God that worketh in us, both to will and to do, of his own good pleaſure. Through his mercy, he himſelf is before-hand with the will of man: as ſaith the Pſalmiſt; My God will prevent me with his goodneſs. He himſelf inſpires man with the grace of thinking rightly; according to that of the apoſtle; Not that we are, of ourſelves, ſufficient to think any thing, as of ourſelves; but our ſufficiency is of God. He is, himſelf, the cauſe of our having a good will. He is, himſelf, the cauſe

(*y*) Gotteſch. Hiſt. cap. x. per totum.

of

of our deſiring and accompliſhing what is holy. And he not only worketh theſe things, at preſent, in his elect; but he hath alſo, before the formation of the world, predeſtinated them, by his grace, that they ſhould be holy and blameleſs before him; Eph. i. 4. Whoever, then, does not believe that this grand and moſt efficacious cauſe" [viz. God's predeſtination and grace] "precedes our will, in order that we may will and do that which is right, doth manifeſtly oppoſe the truth, and ſtands convicted of Pelagianiſm (z)." It is true, that, in theſe paſſages, Florus nervouſly aſſerts the efficacy of divine influence: but ſays nothing about forcible compulſion. And, indeed, there was no reaſon why he ſhould. The operation of grace renders itſelf effectual, without offering the leaſt violence to the human mind. Open a blind man's eyes to ſee the ſun, and he will need no compulſion to make him admire it. Suppoſe there was a perſon, to whoſe ceaſeleſs bounty you owed every comfort you enjoy, but of whom, notwithſtanding, you never had ſo much as the ſight. Should that perſon, in proceſs of time, favour you with a viſit; would you ſtand in need of compulſion, to make you ſpeak to him? muſt you be dragged by the hair of your head, into his preſence? No. You would, at once, fly to him, and bid him welcome. You would, freely, yet irreſiſtibly (ſuch is the ſweetly captivating power of gratitude), thank him, and give him your beſt accommodations, and wiſh your beſt were better for his ſake. Similar is the free, though neceſſary, tendency of an enlightened ſoul to God and Chriſt. Calviniſm diſclaims all compulſion (*a*), properly ſo called. It pleads only for

(z) Florus Magiſt. apud Uſſer. u. ſ. p. 143—146.

(*a*) According to Mr Locke, compulſion may then be ſaid to take place, "When the beginning or continuation of any action is contrary to the preference of the mind." (See his Eſſay on Underſtanding, Book ii. ch. xxi. ſect. 13). If, therefore, this acute logician

for that victorious, conciliating efficacy, which is inſeparable from the grace of divine attraction: and acknowledges no other energy, but that to which the apoſtle ſets his *comprobatum eſt*, where he ſays, The Love of Chriſt conſtraineth us.

SECTION IX.

The Judgment of ſome eminent Perſons, prior *to the* Reformation, *continued.*

IF we carry down our enquiries, to the century preceding the Reformation, we ſhall find that period illuminated by ſeveral very diſtinguiſhed advocates for the doctrines of free and ſovereign grace,

cian was in the right; it will follow, that, in the ſupernatural agency of grace on the heart, compulſion is quite excluded, be that agency ever ſo effectual: ſince, the more effectually it is ſuppoſed to operate, the more certainly it muſt engage the "preference of the mind." And, where the preference of the mind is thus engaged, won over, and ſecured, (the accompliſhing of which is the very buſineſs of grace, Pſal. cx. 3) there compulſion can have no manner of footing or exiſtence.

Another remark of Mr. Locke's deſerves to be well conſidered: "voluntary is not oppoſed to neceſſary, but to involuntary. For a man may prefer what he can do, to what he cannot do:" [he may, for inſtance, prefer] "the ſtate he is in, to its abſence or change, though neceſſity has made it in itſelf unalterable." Ibid. Sect. 11. I am apt to think, that the preceding citations from Locke will make Mr. Sellon ſtare. I wiſh the citation next enſuing may not make him ſwear. If the "Exotic" can get any body to lend him Locke's Eſſay, he will find in the 14th ſection of the chapter above referred to, the following obſervations: "Whether man's will be free, or no," is "an unreaſonable, becauſe unintelligible queſtion. It is as inſignificant, to aſk, whether man's will be free; as to aſk, whether his ſleep be ſwift, or his virtue ſquare. Liberty being as little applicable to the will, as ſwiftneſs of motion is to ſleep, or ſquareneſs to virtue." How far ſuch conceſſions, as theſe, are reconcilable with ſome parts of that great man's theological ſyſtem; or even with ſome of his own favourite metaphyſical principles; I leave to the determination of more competent readers.

as

as now held by thoſe who are ſince called (*b*) Calviniſts.

V. John Huſs, the well-known Bohemian martyr, was converted to the truth of the goſpel, next under God, by reading the works of our renowned countryman John Wickliff. He took his batchelor of arts' degree in the univerſity of Prague, A. D. 1393, and was eminent for learning (as learning then went), but more ſo for the exemplary ſanctity of his life (*c*). I need not relate the perfidy of the Council of Conſtance, who condemned him to the flames, in open violation of the ſafe-conduct which had been ſolemnly granted him by the emperor Sigiſmund. Suffice it to obſerve, that this infamous ſynod acted up to their own maxim, of "No faith to be kept with heretics:" and that he was burned, A. D. 1415. His dying prediction at the ſtake, is, however, too remarkable to be omitted. "He behaved himſelf, at his martyrdom, with a wonderful chearfulneſs; and ſeems to have had a ſpirit of prophecy: for whereas Huſs, in the Bohemian tongue, ſignifies a gooſe, he told them, You now roaſt a gooſe; but, after an hundred years, a ſwan ſhall riſe out of my aſhes. Which was fulfilled in Luther, who, juſt an hundred years after Huſs's death, began to appear in oppoſition to the Pope (*d*)."

Among

(*b*) It ſeems, we are, originally, indebted to the Church of Rome, for this appellation. "Calviniſts: A name given by Papiſts to the reformed of France, Swiſſerland, Germany, and the Low-Countries." Great Hiſt. Dict.

(*c*) *Vir, ipſis fatentibus adverſariis, doctrinâ illuſtris, pietate conſpicuus.* Wharton, in App. ad Cavii Hiſt. Liter. p. 76.

(*d*) Hiſt. of Popery, vol. ii. p. 193. Mr. Rolt, in his Lives of the Reformers (p. 17, 18,) gives a more circumſtantial account of Dr. Huſs's martyrdom and prophecy. "Dr. Huſs," ſays that judicious compiler, "heard his ſentence, without the leaſt emotion. He kneeled down, with his eyes lifted toward Heaven, and ſaid, with all the ſpirit of primitive martyrdom, May thy infinite mercy, O my God, pardon this injuſtice of my enemies. Thou knoweſt the injuſtice

Among the articles of pretended hereſy, which this excellent man was arraigned and put to death for maintaining, were the following (*e*).

" There is but one, holy, univerſal, or Catholic Church, which is the univerſal company of all the predeſtinate. I do confeſs," ſaid Huſs, " that this propoſition is mine; and [it] is confirmed by St. Auguſtin upon St. John.

injuſtice of my accuſations, how deformed with crimes I have been repreſented; how I have been oppreſſed by worthleſs witneſſes and an unjuſt condemnation. Yet, O my God, let the mercy of thine, which no tongue can expreſs, prevail with thee not to avenge my wrongs. The Biſhops, appointed by the Council, ſtript him of his prieſtly garments, degraded him, and put a mitre of paper upon his head, on which devils were painted, with this inſcription, A ring-leader of heretics. Our heroic martyr received this mock-mitre with a gallant air of unconcern, that ſeemed to give him dignity, inſtead of diſgrace. A ſerenity, a joy, a compoſure, appeared in his looks, which indicated that his ſoul had cut off many ſtages of tedious journey in her way to the point of eternal joy and peace. The Biſhops delivered Huſs to the Emperor, who put him into the hands of the duke of Bavaria. His books were burnt at the gate of the Church, and he was led to the ſuburbs to be burnt alive. When he came to the place of execution, he fell on his knees, ſang portions of Pſalms, looked ſtedfaſtly toward Heaven, and repeated theſe words: Into thy hands, O Lord, do I commit my ſpirit; thou haſt redeemed me, O moſt good and faithful God. When the chain was put about him at the ſtake, he ſaid, with a ſmiling countenance, My Lord Jeſus Chriſt was bound with an harder chain than this, for my ſake; and why ſhould I be aſhamed of this old ruſty one? When the faggots were piled up to his very neck, the duke of Bavaria was officious enough to deſire him to abjure. No, ſaid Huſs; I never preached any doctrine of an evil tendency; and what I taught with my lips, I now ſeal with my blood. He ſaid to the Executioner, Are you going to burn a gooſe? in one century, you will have a ſwan, whom you can neither roaſt nor boil. If he was prophetic, he muſt have meant Luther, who had a ſwan for his arms. The flames were then applied to the faggots; when the martyr ſang an hymn, with ſo loud and chearful a voice, that he was heard through all the cracklings of the combuſtibles and the noiſe of the multitude. At laſt, his voice was cut ſhort, and he was conſumed. The duke of Bavaria ordered the executioner to throw all the martyr's cloaths into the flames: after which, his aſhes were carefully collected, and caſt into the Rhine."

(*e*) Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. i. p. 693.

" St.

" St. Paul was never any member of the devil, albeit that he committed and did certain acts like unto the acts of the malignant Church" [i. e. St. Paul, prior to his converſion, acted like a reprobate, though he was, ſecretly, and in reality, one of God's elect]. " And likewiſe St. Peter, who fell into an horrible ſin of perjury, and denial of his maſter; it was by the permiſſion of God, that he might the more firmly and ſtedfaſtly riſe again and be confirmed." To this charge, Huſs replied, " I anſwer, according to St. Auſtin, that it is expedient that the elect and predeſtinate ſhould ſin and offend (*f*)."

" No part or member of the Church doth depart, or fall away, at any time, from the body: forſomuch as the charity of predeſtination, which is the bond and chain of the ſame, doth never fall." Huſs anſwers; " This propoſition is thus placed in my book: " As the reprobate of the Church proceed out of the ſame, and yet are not as parts or members of the ſame; forſomuch as no part or member of the ſame doth finally fall away: becauſe that the charity of predeſtination, which is the bond and chain of the ſame, doth never fall away. This is proved by 1 Cor. xiii. and Rom. viii. All things turn to good, to them that love God: alſo, I am certain that neither death nor life can ſeparate us from the charity and love of God, as it is more at large in the book."

Another article, objected againſt him, was, his being of opinion that " the predeſtinate, although he be not in the ſtate of grace according to preſent juſtice, yet is he always a member of the univerſal Church." He anſwers: " Thus it is in the book,

(*f*) Let not the reader imagine, that I approve of the unguarded manner, in which Mr. Huſs here expreſſes himſelf. I only give his anſwer, faithfully, as I find it. His meaning, I doubt not, was this: that, by the incomprehenſible alchymy of God's infinite wiſdom, even moral evil itſelf ſhall be finally over-ruled to good.

about

about the beginning of the fifth chapter, where it is declared, that there be divers manners or ſorts of being in the Church: for there are ſome in the Church, according to the mis-ſhapen faith; and other ſome according to predeſtination: as Chriſtians predeſtinate, now in ſin, ſhall return again unto grace." The good man added: "Predeſtination doth make a man a member of the univerſal Church; the which [i. e. predeſtination] is a preparation of grace for the preſent, and of glory to come: and not any degree of" [outward] "dignity, neither election of man" [or, one man's deſignation of another to ſome office or ſtation], "neither any ſenſible ſign" [i. e. predeſtination does not barely extend to the outward ſigns, or means of grace: but includes ſomething more and higher]: "For the traitor Judas Iſcariot, notwithſtanding Chriſt's election" [or appointment of him to the apoſtleſhip], and the temporal graces which were given him for his office of apoſtleſhip, and that he was reputed and counted of men a true apoſtle of Jeſus Chriſt; yet was he no true diſciple, but a wolf covered in a ſheep's ſkin, as St. Auguſtin ſaith."

"A reprobate man is never a member of the holy Church. I anſwer, it is in my book, with ſufficient long probation out of the xxvi. Pſalm, and out of the v. chapter to the Epheſians: and alſo by St. Bernard's ſaying, The Church of Jeſus Chriſt is more plainly and evidently his body, than the body which he delivered for us to death. I have alſo written, in the fifth chapter of my book, that the holy Church" [i. e. the outward, viſible Church of profeſſing Chriſtians, here on earth] "is the barn of the Lord, in the which are both good and evil, predeſtinate and reprobate: the good being as the good corn, or grain; and the evil, as the chaff. And thereunto is added the expoſition of St. Auſtin."

"Judas was never a true diſciple of Jeſus Chriſt. I anſwer, and I do confeſs the ſame. They came out from amongſt us, but they were none of us. He knew from the beginning, who they were that believed not, and who ſhould betray him. And therefore I ſay unto you, that none cometh unto me, except it be given him of my Father."

Such were ſome of the allegations, brought againſt this holy man by the Council of Conſtance; and ſuch were his anſwers, when he ſtood on his public trial, as a lily among thorns, or as a ſheep in the midſt of wolves. How eaſy is it for me to write in defence of theſe ineſtimable truths, which (through the goodneſs of Divine Providence) have now in our happy land, the ſanction of national eſtabliſhment! But with what invincible ſtrength of grace was this adamantine ſaint endued, who bore his explicit, unſhaken teſtimony to the faith, in the preſence and hearing of its worſt foes, armed with all the terrific powers of this world!

Prior to his execution, Mr. Huſs made his ſolemn appeal to God, from the judgment of the Pope and Council. In this appeal (*g*) (the whole of which would well repay the reader's peruſal), he again repeats his aſſured faith in the doctrine of election; where he celebrates the willingneſs with which Chriſt vouchſafed, "By the moſt bitter and ignominious death, to redeem the children of God, choſen before the foundation of the world, from everlaſting damnation."

Much farther proof might be given of Huſs's Calviniſm. Enough, however, has been produced. Yet will I requeſt my reader's patient attention to the paſſage that follows. He was accuſed of having affirmed, that "Chriſt doth more love a predeſtinate man, being ſinful, than any reprobate, in what

(*g*) See this Appeal, at full length, in Fox, u. ſ. p. 695, 696.

grace

grace poſſible ſoever he be (*b*)." To which, his reply was: "My words are in the fourth chapter of my book, entitled, Of the Church. And it is evident, that God doth love the predeſtinate being ſinful" [i. e. the elect, even prior to their converſion]; than any reprobate, in what [ſeeming] grace ſoever he be for the time: foraſmuch as he [i. e. God] willeth that the predeſtinate ſhall have perpetual bleſſedneſs, and the reprobate to have eternal fire. The predeſtinate cannot fall from grace: for they have a certain, radical grace rooted in them, although they [may] be deprived of the abundant grace for a time (*i*)."

As to what he ſays above, concerning the love which God bears to the predeſtinate, even while ſinful; though it be, perhaps, rather incautiouſly phraſed, it ſtill is, in effect, affirming no more than the Apoſtle has affirmed before him: God, who is rich in mercy, for the great love wherewith he loved us even when we were dead in ſins, hath quickened us together with Chriſt. By grace ye are ſaved. Eph. ii. 4, 5.

It is very obſervable, that the Popiſh Council of Conſtance charged Huſs with being a Fataliſt (*k*): and

(*b*) Fox, ibid. p. 700.

(*i*) Fox, ibid.

(*k*) See a curious tract, inſerted into the *Faſciculus Rerum fugiendarum & expetendarum*, entitled, *Rationes & Motiva ac Reprobationes Articulorum Wiclefi & ſequacis ipſius Johannis Hus, in Concilio Conſtantienſi damnatorum.* By peruſing the reaſons, which the Council of Conſtance there aſſign, for their rejection and condemnation of Huſs and his doctrines, the reader will immediately ſee, from what magazine Arminianiſm pilfers its arguments. By way of ſpecimen, take the following extract. The Papiſts, in the above Council, charged the martyr, and not untruly, with holding, that *omnia de neceſſitate abſolutâ eveniunt.* On which poſition, they thus deſcant: *Iſta propoſitio eſt falſa & erronea: quia ex ipſa ſequitur, 1. ſuperflua eſſe præcepta prohibitiones, leges, conſilia, & monitiones. 2. Sequitur, obliquitates, deformitates, & peccata tolli. Sequitur, 3, omnem actum laudabilem, virtuoſum, meritorium, etiam præmium & liberum arbitrium, excludi. [4.] Quia non laudamur, nec vituperamur, meremur,*

and oppoſed the doctrine of predeſtination, which he held and taught, by the ſame identical cavils which have been, ſince, ſo greedily licked up, and ſo plentifully diſgorged, by Meſſrs. Weſley, Sellon, and others of that fraternity. Theſe gentlemen bluſh not to whet their bills on the door poſts of Popery itſelf, rather than not be enabled to peck at thoſe Proteſtant doctrines, to which they (I will not ſay, for divers good, but) for divers weighty cauſes, have, themſelves, moſt ſolemnly, though moſt hypocritically, ſubſcribed.

Next after the teſtimony of John Huſs, naturally follows that of his intimate friend and faithful fellow-martyr, Jerom of Prague. As they were united, in their lives, by the moſt ſacred ties of religious and learned regard, ſo in their deaths they were almoſt undivided: for they were both executed within a twelvemonth of each other.

VI. Jerom, ſurnamed of Prague, from the place of his nativity, was a lay gentleman, of competent fortune, and of very extraordinary learning. Having taken his maſter of arts degree, in the univerſity of his native city, he viſited moſt of the countries in Europe. In the courſe of this tour, the univerſities of Paris, Cologne, and Heidelburg, ſucceſſively complimented him with the ſame degree which he had taken at Prague. The writers of the Biographical Dictionary (*l*) ſeem to think it probable, that the univerſity of Oxford likewiſe favoured

aut præmiamur, niſi de iis quæ ſunt in poteſtate noſtrâ ad utramque partem contradictionis flexibilia. Faſcic. vol. i. p. 288. i. e. "if," ſay the Romiſh Confeſſors, "all things come to paſs by an abſolute neceſſity, then, 1. all precepts and prohibitions are vain. 2. The very nature of ſin is taken away. There can, 3. be no ſuch thing as a laudable, virtuous, meritorious, or even rewardable action. Conſequently, 4. we can neither be praiſed, nor blamed, we can neither merit by, nor be rewarded for, any thing we do." So ſpake the Popiſh doctors, in the year 1415. And ſo ſpeak the Arminians, in the year 1771.

(*l*) Vol. vii. p. 39.

him

him with the ſame mark of reſpect. It is, however, certain, that, during his progreſs, he was over in England; where he copied out the books of Wickliff, and returned with them to Prague (*m*)."

In proving the Calviniſm of Dr. John Huſs, I have proved the Calviniſm of his brother in the faith, the learned and pious Jerom. "I knew him," ſaid Jerom, ſpeaking of Huſs, "to be a juſt and true preacher of the holy goſpel: and whatſoever things Mr. Huſs and Wickliff have held or written, I will affirm, even unto death, that they were holy and bleſſed men (*n*)." In purſuance of this declaration, delivered before a full meeting of the Council of Conſtance, he was condemned to death: and, in the very ſentence of condemnation, the Council alledged this reaſon, among others, why they proceeded againſt him to the ultimate ſeverity, viz, becauſe he had "affirmed, that he never, at any time, had read any errors or hereſy in the books and treatiſes of the ſaid Wickliff and Huſs, and becauſe the ſaid Jerom is an adherent and maintainer of the ſaid Wickliff and Huſs and their errors, and both is and hath been a favourer of them (*o*)." As he ſuffered for the ſame bleſſed cauſe, ſo he ſuffered on the ſame ſpot of ground where his friend Huſs had been executed: and his perſecutors gave the ſtrongeſt proofs they were able of their meanneſs and malice, by fixing him to a ſtake which had been ſhaped into an image, reſembling his brother-martyr, who had ſo lately and ſo gloriouſly ſet his life as a ſeal to the truth in that place (*p*). Yet, though no circumſtance was omitted, which might tend to ſhake his fortitude, and to diſconcert him in his laſt moments; "he ſuffered with all the magnanimity of

(*m*) Rolt's Lives of the Reformers, p. 19.
(*n*) See Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. i. p. 722.
(*o*) Ibid. p. 723.
(*p*) See Fox, ibid. p. 724.

Huſs. He embraced the ſtake, to which he was faſtened with the peculiar malice of wet cords. When the executioner went behind him, to ſet fire to the pile, Come here, ſaid Jerom, and kindle it before my eyes; for if I dreaded ſuch a ſight, I ſhould never have come to this place, when I had a free opportunity of eſcaping. The fire was kindled, and he then ſung an hymn, which was ſoon finiſhed by the incircling flames (*q*)."

VII. John de Weſaliâ was another eminent witneſs for the doctrines of grace, and ſuffered much for his adherence to them. "He was," ſays Monſieur Bayle, "a doctor of divinity; and was very ill treated by the inquiſition in Germany, for having taught ſome doctrines which diſguſted the Catholics (*r*)." Another writer informs us, more particularly, what thoſe doctrines were, which gave the Church of Rome ſo much diſguſt. Diether Iſenburgh, archbiſhop of Mentz, convened an aſſembly of Popiſh doctors, A. D. 1479, to ſit in judgment on this pretended heretic, who was then, on account of his religious principles, a priſoner in a convent of that city. A long catalogue of articles was laid to his charge: of which, the following were ſome.

"God hath, from everlaſting, written a book, wherein he hath inſcribed all his elect: and whoſoever is not already written there, will never be written there at all.

"Moreover, he that is written therein, will never be blotted out of it.

"The elect are ſaved by the alone grace of God: and what man ſoever God willeth to ſave, by enduing him with grace, if all the prieſts in the world were deſirous to damn and excommunicate that man, he would ſtill be ſaved. Whomſoever, like-

(*q*) Rolt, page 21.
(*r*) Bayle's Hiſt. & Crit. Dict. vol. v. p. 540.

wiſe,

wiſe, God willeth to condemn, if the whole clan of pope, prieſts, and others, were deſirous of ſaving that man, he ſtill condemned would be.

" If there had never been any Pope in the world, they, who are ſaved, would have been ſaved notwithſtanding.

" They who undertake pilgrimages to Rome, are fools.

" I will not look on any thing as ſinful, which the ſcripture does not call ſo.

" I deſpiſe the Pope, his Church and his Councils. But I love Chriſt. Let the word of Chriſt dwell in us abundantly.

" It is a difficult thing to be a [true] Chriſtian (*s*)."

The Church of Rome took fire at theſe propoſitions. The affair was carried before the tribunal of the inquiſition. In the courſe of his examination, another heinous hereſy was laid to his charge: viz. that he had given it as his opinion, that St. Paul contributed nothing toward his own converſion by the help of his own free-will (*t*). A man need but look into the 9th chapter of the Acts, to be

(*s*) " Deus, ab æterno, condidit librum, in quem ſcripſit omnes ſuos electos. Quicunque autem in eo non eſt ſcriptus, nunquam inſcribetur in ipſum in æternum. Et qui in eo ſcriptus eſt, nunquam ex eo delebitur.

" Sola Dei gratia ſalvantur electi. Et quem Deus vult ſalvare, donando ſibi gratiam, ſi omnes ſacerdotes vellent illum damnare aut excommunicare, adhuc ſalvaretur ille. Et quem Deus vult damnare, ſi omnes Preſbyteri, Papa, & alii, vellent hunc ſalvare, adhuc eſte damnaretur.

" Si nullus unquam Papa fuiſſet, adhuc ſalvati fuiſſent hi qui ſalvati ſunt.

" Peregrinantes Romam fatui ſunt.

" Quecunque non dicuntur eſſe peccata in ſacra ſcriptura, ea non pro peccatis habebo.

" Contemno Papam, Eccleſiam, & Conſilia.

" Res eſt difficilis eſſe Chriſtianum."

Faſcic: Rerum, vol. i. p. 325, 326.

(*t*) " Opinatur quod beatus Paulus, in ſua converſione, nihil fecit ſuo libero arbitrio pro ſua converſione." Ibid. p. 331.

fully convinced that Dr. Weſalia was in the right. How exactly by the bye, does Mr. Sellon jump with theſe Romiſh inquiſitors, who has declared, *totidem verbis*, that, in converting St. Paul, "The Lord did wait for St. Paul's compliance and improvements!" i. e. at the very time when God ſtruck Saul to the earth, he waited for Saul's conſent to fall! Had the Almighty waited for the compliance of him who was breathing out threats and ſlaughters againſt the goſpel, he might have waited long enough, and waited for nothing at laſt.

Weſalia, it ſeems, was extremely old and infirm, when he underwent the above inquiſitorial examination. Being, ſays Mr. Bayle, "broken by age and diſeaſes, he was not able to expreſs his thoughts before ſuch a dreadful tribunal:" Hence proceeded the retractation, into which he was trepaned. It is plain, that his retractation was not conſidered as ſincere, from his being condemned to perpetual confinement and penance "in a monaſtery of the Auguſtins; where he died ſoon after (*u*)."

SECTION X.

The Judgment of ſeveral eminent Perſons, who flouriſhed in England, *antecedently to the Reformation.*

FROM among the ancient worthies, natives of our own land, and remarkable for having been led into an acquaintance with the diſtinguiſhing doctrines of the goſpel; Bede, Groſthead, Wickliffe, Bradwardin, and Lord Cobham, may be ſelected, as none of the leaſt conſpicuous. If our iſland be diſgraced with having given birth to Pelagius, ſhe is

(*u*) Bayle, u. ſ. p. 542.

alſo

alſo honoured with having been the mother of ſuch ſons, as have cut up Pelagianiſm, both root and branch.

I. Beda, or Bede, whom all ſucceeding ages have concurred to ſurname The Venerable, was born A. D. 672, or 673, in the county of Durham, ſomewhere near the mouth of the Tine (*x*). Dr. Fuller ſtiles him "the profoundeſt ſcholar in that age, for Latin, Greek, Philoſophy, Hiſtory, Divinity, and Mathematics:" and adds, that "homilies of his making were read, during his life-time, in the Chriſtian Churches: a dignity afforded to him alone (*y*)." He died A. D. 734 (*z*). An incident, which occurred in his laſt moments, is of ſo ſingular a nature, that I cannot help giving it to the reader. "One of the laſt things he did, was the tranſlating of St. John's goſpel into Engliſh. When death ſeized on him, one of his devout ſcholars, whom he uſed for his ſecretary or amanuenſis, complained, my beloved maſter, there remains yet one ſentence unwritten.—"Write it then quickly," replied Bede: and ſummoning all his ſpirits together (like the laſt blaze of a candle going out) he indited it, and expired," Thus, adds the hiſtorian, "God's children are immortal, while their Father hath any thing for them to do on earth: and death, that beaſt, cannot overcome and kill them, till they have firſt finiſhed their teſtimony, Rev. ii. 7. which done, like ſilkworms, they willingly die, when their web is ended, and are comfortably entombed in their own endeavours (*a*)."

I ſhould offer an inſult even to the moſt unknowing reader, were I to obſerve, that the very name of Arminius was unheard of for many centuries after this early period. But if Arminius himſelf was

(*x*) Dupin's Eccleſ. Writ. vol. vi. p. 89.
(*y*) Church Hiſt. cent. 8. p. 98.
(*z*) Idem. Worthies of England, part 1. p. 292.
(*a*) Fuller's Church Hiſt. u. ſ. p. 99.

unborn,

unborn, the doctrines of which that Dutch ſchiſmatic was the reviver and the varniſher, had, about the beginning of the fifth century, been broached by Pelagius, who was the Arminius of that age. With what horror and deteſtation our learned and pious Anglo-Saxon reviewed that heretic and his hereſies, appears from what he ſays of both, in the courſe of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the Engliſh Nation (*b*). He goes even ſo far, as to ſtyle the free-will ſyſtem, "The Pelagian plague (*c*)."

Archbiſhop Uſher, in his Hiſtory of the Predeſtinarian Controverſy, already referred to ſo often, cites ſome of Pelagius's propoſitions, together with Beda's refutations of them, in the very words of each writer. The following extract will enable the reader to form an exact judgment of Beda's Calviniſm.

"Whereas Pelagius ſays, that we are not impelled to evil by the corruption of our nature, ſeeing we do neither good nor evil without the compliance of our own will; he herein contradicts the apoſtle, who affirms, I know, that in me, that is, in my fleſh, dwelleth no good thing, Rom. vii.—Moreover, when Pelagius aſſerts that we are at liberty to do one thing always" [i. e. to do always what is good, if it be not our own fault,] "ſeeing we are always able to do both one and the other," [i. e. in Pelagius's opinion, free-will has a power of indifference to good or evil; to either of which it ſovereignly inclines, according to its own independent determination: to this Beda replies] "He

(*b*) Particularly in lib. 1. cap. 10. which chapter is entitled, "Ut, Arcadio regnante, Pelagius, Brito, contra gratiam Dei ſuperba Bella ſuſceperit." And cap. 17. entitled, "Ut Germanus Epiſcopus, cum Lupo, Britanniam navigans, & primo maris, poſtmodum Pelagianorum, tempeſtatem, divina virtute, ſeda verit."—p. 12. and 18. —Edit. Antverp. 1550.

(*c*) "Renaſcentibus virgultis Pelaginæ peſtis Germanus cum ſevero Britanniam reverſus, &c. Ibid. lib. 1. cap. 21. p. 25.

herein

herein contradicts the prophet, who, humbly addreſſing himſelf to God, ſaith, I know, O Lord, that a man's way is not his own; it is not in man that walketh, to direct his own ſteps: Jer. x. 23. Nay, Pelagius maketh himſelf greater than the apoſtle, who ſaid, With my mind, I myſelf ſerve the law of God; but, with my fleſh, the law of ſin: Rom. vii. 25 (*d*)."

On one hand, Pelagius had affirmed, "That, in the expulſion of Adam from Paradiſe, and in the aſſumption of Enoch into heaven, God himſelf had given a demonſtration of man's free-will: ſince Adam would not have merited puniſhment at the hand of a juſt God, nor would Enoch have deſerved to be elected, unleſs each of them had it in his power to act the reverſe of what they did. In the very ſame manner, adds Pelagius, we muſt judge concerning the two brothers, Cain and Abel; and concerning the twins, Eſau and Jacob." To this Beda oppoſes the following ſimple, ſtrong, ſcriptural anſwer: Pelagius here runs counter to the apoſtle, whoſe deciſion is, the children being not yet born, neither having done good nor evil, that the purpoſe of God, according to election, might ſtand, not of works, but of him that calleth, it was ſaid, the elder ſhall ſerve the younger: as it is written, Jacob have I loved, but Eſau have I hated. Rom. ix. 11—13 (*e*)."

Pelagius

(*d*) Quod dicit [Pelagius] nos vitio naturæ ad malum non impelli, qui nec bonum, ſine voluntate, nec malum, facimus; repugnat apoſtolo, dicenti, ſcio quia non habitat in me, hoc eſt in carne mea, bonum: Rom. vii. 18.—Quod dicit, liberum nobis eſſe unum ſemper agere, cum ſemper utrumque poſſimus, contradicit prophetæ, qui Deo ſupplex loquitur, dicens, ſcio, domine, qui non ſit hominis via ejus; nec viri eſt, ut ambulet & dirigat greſſus ſuos: Jer. x. 23. Sed & apoſtolo majorem ſe facit qui dixit, ego igitur ipſe mente, ſervio legi Dei; carne autem, legi peccati: Rom. vii. 25." Beda, apud Uſſer. Gotteſch. p. 6, 7.

(*e*) "Pelagius: Adam de Paradiſo ejicitur; Enoch de mundo rapitur. In utroque, dominus libertatem arbitrii oſtendit. Non enim

Pelagius had aſſerted, that "The juſt God could never command us to do any thing impoſſible; nor can the merciful God condemn a man for doing what he could not avoid." Beda replies, "The former propoſition is true, if ſpoken with reference to that ſuccour, which we derive from him, to whom the Univerſal Church thus prays, Lead thou me forth in the path of thy commandments: Pſalm. cxix. 35. But, if a man truſt to his own powers, he is refuted by that moſt true ſaying of Chriſt, Without me ye can do nothing: John xv. 5. And whereas Pelagius declares, that he who is gracious will not condemn a man for doing what he could not avoid; he, in this, flatly oppoſes the aſſertion of the ſame gracious Redeemer and juſt Judge: who avers, that, except a man, even infants themſelves included, be born again, of water and the ſpirit, he cannot ſee the kingdom of God, John iii. 5. (*f*)"

II. Robert Groſthead, born at Stradbrook, in Suffolk, was made biſhop of Lincoln, A. D. 1235 (*g*). Mr. Camden terms him, "a much better ſcholar and linguiſt, than could be expected

enim a juſto Deo, aut ille puniri meruiſſet, aut hic eligi, niſi uterque utrunque potuiſſet. Hoc de Cain & Abel fratribus, hoc etiam de Eſau & Jacob geminis, intelligendum eſt.—Beda: contradicit apoſtolo, qui de eiſdem loquens, ait, cum enim, necdum nati fuiſſent, &c." Apud Uſſer. Ibid. p. 7.

(*f*) "Pelagius: Nec impoſſibile aliquid potuit imperare, qui juſtus eſt; nec damnaturus eſt hominem pro eo quod vitare non potuit, qui pius eſt.—Beda quòd dicit, dominum non impoſſibile aliquid præcepiſſe, qui juſtus eſt; verum profectò dicit, ſi ad ejus reſpicit auxilium, cui catholica vox ſupplicat. Deduc me in ſemitâ mandatorum tuorum, Pſal. cxix. 35. Si verò viribus animi ſui fidit, refellit eum veridica ejuſdem juſti conditoris ſententia, quâ dicit, ſine me nihil poteſtis facere: Johan. xv. 5.—Quòd dicit, eum, qui pius eſt, non damnaturum eſſe hominem, pro eo quod vitare non potuit; contradicit ejuſdem pii redemptoris & juſti judicis ſententiæ, quâ, etiam de parvulis, ait, niſi quis renatus fuerit ex aquâ & ſpiritu, non poteſt videre regnum Dei." Apud Uſſer. u. ſ. p. 8.

(*g*) Vide Cav. Hiſt. Liter. i. 716.—necnon Godwinum, de præſulib. Angliæ, p. 289. edit. Cantabr. 1743. fol.

from

from the age he lived in: an awful reprover of the Pope, a monitor to the king, a lover of truth, a corrector of prelates, an inſtructor of the clergy, a maintainer of ſcholars, a preacher to the people, a diligent ſearcher of the Scripture, and a mallet to the Romaniſts (*b*)."

This great luminary was tranſlated to Heaven, October 9, 1253. Few eccleſiaſtics make ſo bright a figure in the annals of their country. "He was," ſays Rapin, "a prelate of reſolution and courage, neither to be gained by court-favours, nor to be frightened by the Pope's menaces. Wholly intent on following what appeared to him reaſonable and juſt, he little regarded the circumſtances of the times, or the quality of perſons; but equally oppoſed the king's will, and the Pope's pleaſure, according as it happened. He could not ſee, without indignation and concern, the beſt preferments in the kingdom beſtowed on Italians, who neither reſided on their benefices, nor underſtood Engliſh. Refuſing to inſtitute an Italian to one of the beſt livings of his dioceſe, he was preſently after ſuſpended: but, regardleſs of the cenſure, he continued his epiſcopal functions. He even refuſed, at that very time, to admit of new proviſions from the Pope in favour of other Italians, declaring, that to entruſt the cure of ſouls to ſuch paſtors, was to act in the name of the devil, rather than by the authority of God. Soon after, Groſthead touched

(*b*) Britannia, vol. i. col. 565.—edit. 1722.—Part of biſhop Groſthead's character, as drawn by Camden, is given in the words of Matthew Paris. The whole portrait is worthy of being ſeen at full length. "Fuit ille [i. e. Groſthead] domini papæ & regis redargutor manifeſtus, prælatorum correptor, monachorum corrector. Preſbyterorum director, clericorum inſtructor, ſcholarium ſuſtentator, populi prædicator, incontinentium perſecutor, ſcripturarum ſedulus perſcrutator diverſarum, Romanorum malleus & contemptor. In menſâ refectionis corporalis dapſilis, copioſus, & civilis, hilaris & affabilis: in menſâ verò ſpirituali devotus, lachrymoſus, & contritus: in officio pontificali ſedulus, venerabilis, et infatigabilis." Mat. Paris. Apud Godwinum, u. ſ. p. 291.

the

the Pope in a very ſenſible part, by computing the yearly (*i*) ſums drawn, by the beneficed Italians, out of England. Innocent IV. who then ſat in the papal chair, ſent him a menacing letter, which would have frightened any but him. Groſthead returned a very bold anſwer; which put Innocent into a terrible rage. What! ſaid the Pope, has this old dotard the confidence to cenſure my conduct? By St. Peter and St. Paul, I will make him ſuch an example, that the world ſhall ſtand amazed at his puniſhment. For is not his ſovereign, the king of England, our vaſſal? Nay, is he not our ſlave? It is but, therefore, ſignifying our pleaſure to the Engliſh Court, and this antiquated prelate will be immediately impriſoned, and put to what further diſgrace we ſhall think fit. The Annals of Lanercoſt inform us, that the biſhop was excommunicated, a little before his death: but he, without regarding the cenſure, appealed to the Court of Heaven. Several hiſtorians add, that Innocent moved in the Conclave, to have the body of Groſthead taken up and buried in the highway: but to this the cardinals would not conſent. Be this as it will, if he was excommunicated, he paid no attention to it, but continued to diſcharge his functions. Neither were the clergy of his dioceſe more ſcrupulous than their biſhop: for they obeyed him until the day of his death (*k*)."

It was not without much imaginary reaſon, that the Pope was ſo violently exaſperated againſt Groſthead: who might well ſtand, in his Holineſs's books, for a rebel and an heretic (*l*). Of his rebellions, ſome

(*i*) Theſe ſums, remitted to beneficed foreigners, amounted, in the year 1252, to ſeventy thouſand marks: while the King's revenue hardly roſe to twenty thouſand. See Fuller's Church Hiſt. book iii. p. 65.

(*k*) Rapin's Hiſt of Engl. vol. iii. p. 214—218.

(*l*) Groſthead alſo paſſed, among ſome of the vulgar, for a magician: only becauſe he was well ſkilled in Greek and Hebrew, and had

ſome account has been now given. Of his hereſy take the following paſſage for a ſample.

" Grace is that good pleaſure of God, whereby he willeth to give us what we have not deſerved, in order to our benefit, not to his. It is manifeſt, therefore, that all the good which is within us, whether it be natural, or freely conferred afterwards, proceeds from the grace of God: for there is no good thing, of which his will is not the author; and what he wills, is done. He himſelf averts our will from evil, and converts our will to good, and makes our will to perſevere in that good.---A will to good, whereby man becomes conformed to the will of God, is a grace freely given: for the divine will is grace. And grace is then ſaid to be infuſed, when the divine will begins to operate on our will (*m*)."

The humility of this great and good man is evident from what he ſays in one of his Epiſtles, written

had a bias to the ſtudy of Aſtronomy. Hence thoſe old verſes, written in the reign of Richard II.

For of the greet clerk Groſteſt
I red, how redy that he was
Upon Clergy an hede of braſſe
To make, and forge it, for to tell
Of ſuch things as befell.
And ſeven yeers byſineſs
He laid: but, for the lackneſſe
Of half a minute of an houre,
Fro firſt that he began labour,
He loſt all that he had doe.

Vide Hiſt. & Antiq. Univerſ. Oxon. l. i. p. 82.

(*m*) " Gratia eſt bona voluntas Dei, quâ vult nobis dare quod non meruimus, ut nobis ex dato benè ſit, & non ut ipſi donanti aliquid inde proveniat. Patet itaque, quòd omne bonum, quod in nobis eſt, ſive ſit gratuitum, ſive naturale, à gratiâ Dei eſt; quia nullum eſt bonum, quod ipſe non velit eſſe: & ejus velle eſt facere. Non eſt igitur bonum, quod ipſe non faciat. Averſionem igitur voluntatis à malo & converſionem ad bonum, & perſeverantiam in bono, ipſe facit. Bona autem voluntas, quâ eſt homo conformis voluntati divinæ, eſt gratia data à gratiâ quæ eſt voluntas divina: & tunc dicitur gratia infundi, cùm voluntas divina in noſtram voluntatem incipit operari." Grolthead, De Grat. & Juſtif. In Faſcic. Rer. vol. ii. p. 282.

while

while he was arch-deacon of Leiceſter. "Nothing that occurs in your letters, ought to give me more pain, than your ſtyling me, a perſon inveſted with authority, and endued with brightneſs of knowledge. So far am I from being of your opinion, that I feel myſelf unfit even to be a diſciple to a man of authority; and perceive myſelf inveloped with the darkneſs of ignorance, as to innumerable matters which are objects of knowledge. But, did I in reality poſſeſs any of thoſe high qualities, which you aſcribe to me; he alone would be worthy of the praiſe, and it would all be referrible to him, unto whom we daily ſay, Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but to thy name give the glory (*n*)." The ſame ſpirit of modeſty and ſelf abaſement accompanied him to the Epiſcopal chair. Hence he uſually ſtyled himſelf, in his ſubſequent Letters, *Robertus, permiſſione Divinâ, Lincolnienſis Eccleſiæ Miniſter humilis*; "Robert, by Divine permiſſion, the poor Miniſter of the Church of Lincoln (*o*)."

I acknowledge, that, on the ſubjects of grace and free-will, Groſthead does not always preſerve an invariable conſiſtency. The wonder, however, ought to be, not that he ſaw no better, but that he ſaw ſo

(*n*) "Nihil autem, in literis veſtris, mihi magis debet eſſe moleſtum, quàm quod dixiſtis, quocunque animo illud dixeritis, me virum autoritate & ſcientiæ claritate præditum. Cùm adhuc ad diſcipulatum viri authentici me ſentiam minùs idoneum, & innumerabilium ſciendorum ignorantiæ tenebris perfuſum. Quòd ſi aliquid horum eſſet in me, ille ſolus ex his laudandus, & totum illi tribuendum, cui quotidie dicimus, non nobis, Domine, non nobis, ſed nomini tuo, da gloriam." Idem. Ibid. p. 309.

(*o*) Similar was the humility of the ever memorable biſhop Hall; whoſe laſt will began thus: "In the name of God, Amen. I, Joſeph Hall, D. D. not worthy to be called biſhop of Norwich, &c." Fuller's Worthies, part ii. p. 130. Still more demiſs were the modeſty and ſelf-abaſement of that thrice eminent prodigy of holineſs, Mr. Bradford, the martyr: who ſubſcribed himſelf, The ſinful John Bradford: a very painted hypocrite, John Bradford: the moſt miſerable, hard-hearted, and unthankful ſinner, John Bradford. See Fox's Mart, vol. iii.

well

well as he did. Like Apollos, he was, as to the main, eloquent, mighty in the ſcriptures, fervent in ſpirit, ſpeaking and teaching boldly the things of the Lord: though, like the ſame excellent Alexandrian, he ſometimes needed an Aquila and Priſcilla to expound to him the way of God more perfectly (*p*).

III. John de Wickliff, ſurnamed The Evangelical Doctor, enlightened and adorned the ſucceeding century. He was born in the pariſh of Wickliff, near Richmond, in Yorkſhire, about A. D. 1324. The hiſtorical particulars, relative to the life of this extraordinary man, are ſo intereſting and numerous, that I forbear to enter on them leſt they lead me too far.

Mr. Guthrie, in his Hiſtory of England, obſerves, that Wickliff "ſeems to have been a ſtrong predeſtinarian (*q*)." It will preſently appear, that he more than ſeemed to have been ſuch; and that Luther and Calvin themſelves were not ſtronger predeſtinarians than Wickliff. I ſhall open the evidence, with two propoſitions, extracted from his own writings:

1. "The prayer of the reprobate prevaileth for no man.

2. "All things that happen, do come abſolutely of neceſſity (*r*)."

The manner, in which this great harbinger of the reformation defended the latter propoſition, plainly ſhews him to have been (notwithſtanding Guthrie's inſinuation to the contrary) a deep and ſkilful diſputant. "Our Lord," ſays he, "affirmed that ſuch or ſuch an event ſhould come to paſs. Its accompliſhment, therefore, was unavoidable. The antecedent is infallible: by parity of argument, the conſequent is ſo too. For the conſequent is not in the power of a created being, foraſmuch as Chriſt af-

(*p*) Acts xviii. 24—26.
(*q*) See Rolt's Lives of Reform. p. 10.
(*r*) Fox's Acts and Mon. vol. i. p. 513.

firmed ſo many things" [before they were brought to paſs]. "Neither did Chriſt [pre-]affirm any thing accidentally. Seeing, then, that his affirmation was, not accidental, but neceſſary; it follows, that the event, affirmed by him, muſt be neceſſary likewiſe. This argument," adds Wickliff, "receives additional ſtrength, by obſerving, that, in what way ſoever God may declare his will, by his after-diſcoveries of it in time; ſtill, his determination, concerning the event, took place before the world was made: *ergò*, the event will ſurely follow. The neceſſity, therefore, of the antecedent, holds no leſs irrefragably for the neceſſity of the conſequent. And who can either promote or hinder the inference, viz. That this was decreed of God before the formation of the world (*s*)?" I will not undertake to juſtify the whole of this paragraph. I can only meet the excellent man half-way. I agree with him, as to the neceſſity of events: but I cannot, as he evidently did, ſuppoſe God himſelf to be a neceſſary agent, in the utmoſt ſenſe of the term. That God acts in the moſt exact conformity to his own decrees, is a truth which ſcripture aſſerts again and again: but that God was abſolutely free in decreeing, is no leſs aſſerted by the inſpired writers; who, with one voice, declare the Father's predeſtination, and ſubſequent diſpoſal, of all things, to be entirely founded, not on any antecedent neceſſity, but on the ſingle ſovereign pleaſure of his own will.

(*s*) "Chriſtus aſſeruit, hoc eſſe futurum: ergò, hoc eſt, fuit, vel erit. Antecedens eſt neceſſarium: ergò, et conſequens. Non enim eſt in poteſtate creaturæ; quando Chriſtus talia multa aſſeruit. Nec aſſertio animæ Chriſti per accidens eſt hujuſmodi: & ideò, ſicut neceſſariò Chriſtus illud aſſeruit, ità neceſſariò illud eveniet. Confirmat hoc: quocunque futuro ſignato, ante mundi conſtitutionem Deus determinavit hoc fore. Ergò, hoc erit. Quanta ergò erit neceſſitas in antecedente, tanta eſt neceſſitas in conſequente. Et quis enim poteſt facere vel impedire, quin Deus determinavit hoc ante mundi conſtitutionem?" Wickliff, in Trialog. vide Faſcic. Rer. vol. i. p. 256.

The

The quotation, however, proves, that Wickliff was an abſolute Neceſſitarian. And he improves, with great ſolidity and acuteneſs, the topic of prophecy into (what it moſt certainly is) a very ſtrong argument for predeſtination. As the prophecies of the Old and New Teſtaments are ſuch an evidence of the divine inſpiration of the ſacred writers, and ſuch a proof of Chriſtianity, as all the infidels in the world will never be able to overthrow; ſo, on the other hand, thoſe ſame prophecies conclude, to the full, as ſtrongly in favour of peremptory predeſtination. For, if events were undecreed, they would be unforeknown: and if unforeknown, they could not be infallibly (*t*) predicted. To ſay, that 'events may be foreknown, without falling under any effective or permiſſive decree;' would be ſaying either nothing to the purpoſe, or worſe than nothing. For, if God can, with certainty, foreknow any event whatever, which he did not previouſly determine to accompliſh or permit; and that event, barely foreknown, but entirely undecreed, be ſo certainly fu-

(*t*) It is very obſervable, that Wickliff's argument for predeſtination, drawn from the prophecies of our Lord, and cited at large in the preceding note, ſo puzzled the then archbiſhop of Armagh (whoſe name I know not, nor do I think it worth hunting out), that it furniſhed his Popiſh grace with employment for two years together, to reconcile the free-will of man with the certain completion of prophecy. A taſk, however, which after all his labour, the Romiſh prelate found too hard for him. Yet, his Lordſhip, that he might not be forced to acknowledge predeſtination and give up free-will, thought proper to give up the infallible preſcience of Chriſt himſelf; blaſphemouſly affirming, that "it was poſſible for Chriſt to be miſtaken in his prophecies, and to miſinform his Church as to future events." The paſſage is ſo uncommon, that I will give it in the writer's own words. "Dicit adverſarius [ſcil. Wickliff], quoad iſtud argumentum, dominum Armachanum per duos annos ſtuduiſſe pro ejus diſſolutione, & finalitèr neſcivit (ut dicit) alitèr evadere, niſi concedendo, quòd Chriſtus errâſſe potuit, et eccleſiam decepiſſe. Quam concluſionem nullus Catholicus (ut dicit Wickliff) concederet. Et ſic videtur ponere Dominum Armachanum extra numerum Catholicorum." Gulielm. Wodford contrà Wickleſum. Vide Faſcic. Rer. vol. i. p. 256.

ture, as to furniſh poſitive ground for unerring prophecy; it would follow, 1. That God is dependent, for his knowledge, on the things known; inſtead of all things being dependent on him: and, 2. That there is ſome extraneous concatenation of cauſes, prior to the will and knowledge of God, by which his will is regulated, and on which his knowledge is founded. Thus Arminianiſm, in flying from the decree, jumps over head and ears into the moſt dangerous and exceptionable part of that very ſtoiciſm, which ſhe pretends to execrate and avoid.

I return, now, to doctor Wickliff, whoſe ſtrictures led me into this digreſſion.

What he little more than intimates, in the citation given above; he delivered, it ſeems, more plainly and peremptorily, elſewhere. Among the 62 articles, laid to his charge by Thomas Netter (commonly called, Thomas of Walden, who flouriſhed about the year 1409), and for which, that writer refers to the volume and chapter of Wickliff's works; are theſe three:

That "all things come to paſs by fatal neceſſity:

That "God could not make the world otherwiſe than it is made: and,

That "God cannot do any thing, which he doth not do (*u*)."

This is fataliſm with a witneſs. And I cite theſe propoſitions, not to depreciate Dr. Wickliff, whoſe character I admire and revere, as one of the greateſt and beſt ſince the apoſtolic age; nor yet with a view to recommend the propoſitions themſelves: but,

(*u*) Fuller's Church Hiſt. b. iv. p. 134. What this valuable hiſtorian premiſes, concerning Wickliff, before he enters on his account of him, deſerves to be quoted. "I intend," ſays Dr. Fuller, "neither to deny, diſſemble, defend, nor excuſe, any of his faults. We have this treaſure ſaith the Apoſtle, in earthen veſſels: and he, that ſhall endeavour to prove a pitcher of clay to be a pot of gold, will take great pains to ſmall purpoſe. Yea, ſhould I be over officious to retain myſelf to plead for Wickliff's faults, that glorious ſaint would ſooner chide than thank me."

ſimply,

ſimply, to ſhew, how far this illuſtrious reformer ran, from the preſent Arminian ſyſtem, or rather no-ſyſtem, of chance and free-will. But, concerning even thoſe of Wickliff's aſſertions, which were the moſt raſh and unguarded; candor (not to ſay, juſtice) obliges me to obſerve, with Fuller, that, were all his works extant, "we might therein read the occaſion, intention, and connection, of what he ſpake: together with the limitations, reſtrictions, diſtinctions and qualifications, of what he maintained. There we might ſee, what was the overplus of his paſſion, and what the juſt meaſure of his judgment. Many phraſes, heretical in ſound, would appear orthodox in ſenſe. Yea, ſome of his [reputedly--] poiſonous paſſages, dreſſed with due caution, would prove not only wholeſome, but cordial truths: many of his expreſſions wanting, not *granum ponderis*, but *granum ſalis*; no weight of truth, but ſome grains of diſcretion (*x*)."

What I ſhall next add, may be rather ſtyled bold truths, than indiſcreet aſſertions. He defined the Church to conſiſt only of perſons predeſtinated. And affirmed, that God loved David and Peter as dearly when they grievouſly ſinned, as he doth now when they are poſſeſſed of glory (*y*)." This latter poſition might, poſſibly, have been more unexceptionably expreſſed; be it ſubſtantially, ever ſo true.

Wickliff was ſound in the article of gratuitous pardon and juſtification by the alone death and righteouſneſs of Jeſus Chriſt. "The merit of Chriſt," ſays he, "is, of itſelf, ſufficient to redeem every man from Hell. It is to be underſtood of a ſufficiency of itſelf, without any other concurring cauſe. All that follow Chriſt, being juſtified by his righteouſneſs, ſhall be ſaved, as his off-

(*x*) Ibid. p. 135.
(*y*) Ibid. p. 134.

ſpring (z)." It has been already obſerved, and proved, that he had very high notions of that inevitable neceſſity, by which he ſuppoſed every event is governed. Yet, he did not enthuſiaſtically ſever the end from the means. Witneſs his own words: "Though all future things do happen neceſſarily, yet God wills that good things happen to his ſervants through the efficacy of prayer (*a*)." Upon the whole, it is no wonder that ſuch a profligate factor for Popery and Arminianiſm, as Peter Heylin, ſhould (pro more) indecently affirm, that "Wickliff's field had more tares than wheat; and his books more heterodoxes than ſound Catholic doctrine (*b*)."

His character, as briefly drawn by biſhop Newton, and a word or two from Mr. Rolt, ſhall conclude his article. Biſhop Newton terms him, "the deſervedly famous John Wickliff, the honour of his own, and the admiration of all ſucceeding times. Rector only of Lutterworth [in Leiceſterſhire] he filled all England, and almoſt all Europe, with his doctrine. He began to grow famous, about the year 1360. He (*c*) tranſlated the canonical ſcriptures

(z) See Allix's Remarks on the Albigenſes, chap. xxiv. p. 229. Dr. Allix farther obſerves, that Wickliff "rejects the doctrine of the merit of works, and falls upon thoſe who ſay, that 'God did not all for them,'—but think that 'their merits help.' Heal us, Lord, for nought, ſays Wickliff; that is, for no merit of ours, but for thy mercy." Ibid. p. 229, 230.

(*a*) See Allix. u. ſ. p. 235. (*b*) Miſcell. Tracts, p. 543.

(*c*) A Specimen, or two, of Wickliff's tranſlation of the New Teſtament, into the old Engliſh of that period, may not be diſpleaſing to the reader.

"Matth. xi. 25, 26. In thilke tyme Jheſus anſweride & ſeid, I knowleche to thee, Fadir, Lord of Hevene & of earthe, for thou haſt hid theſe thingis fro wiſe men and redy, & haſt ſchewid hem to litil children. So, Fadir; for ſo it was pleſynge to fore thee.

"John x. 26—30. Ye beleven not, for ye ben not of my ſcheep. My ſcheep heren my vois, and I knowe hem, and thei ſuen me. And I gyve to hem everlaſtynge life, & thei ſchulen not periſche, withouten end; & noon ſchal rauyſche hem fro myn hond. That thing that my Fadir gaf to me, is more than alle thingis: & no man may rauyſche from my Fadris hond. I & the Fadir ben oon.

"Romans

tures into the Engliſh language, and wrote comments upon them. He demonſtrated the Antichriſtianity of Popery, and the abomination of deſolation in the Temple of God.—His ſucceſs was greater than he could have expected. The princes, the people, the univerſity of Oxford, many even of the clergy, favoured and ſupported him, and embraced his opinions.—This truly great and good man died of a [ſecond ſtroke of the] palſy, the laſt day of the year 1387. But his doctrines did not die with him. His books were read in the public ſchools and colleges at Oxford, and were recommended to the diligent peruſal of each ſtudent in the Univerſity, till they were condemned and prohibited, by the council of Conſtance, in the next century. He himſelf had been permitted to die in peace; but, after his death, his doctrines were condemned [again,] his books were burnt, his very body was dug up and burnt too, by a decree of the council of Conſtance, and the command of Pope Martin V. executed by Richard Fleming, biſhop of Lincoln. His followers, however, were not diſcouraged; and many

" Romans ix. 11—21. Whanne thei weren not ghit borun, neithir hadden doon ony thing of good, eithir of yvel; that the purpos of God ſchulde dwell bi eleccioun, not of workis, but of God clepyng; it was ſeid to him, that the more ſchulde ſerve the leſſe: as it is writun, I louyde Jacob, but I hatide Eſau. What therfore ſchulen we ſeie? wher wickidneſſe be anentis God? God forbede. For he ſeith to Moiſes, I ſchal have mercy on whom I have mercy, and I ſchal ghyve mercy on whom I have mercy. Therefore, it is not neither of man willynge, neither rennynge; but of God hauynge mercy. And the Scripture ſeith to Farao, For to this thing have I ſtyrrid thee, that I ſchewe in thee my vertu, and that my name be teeld in al erthe. Therefore, of whom God wole, he hath mercy: & whom he wole, he endurith. Thanne ſeith thou to me, what is ſought ghit, for who withſtondith his will? Oo man, what art thou that anſweriſt to God! Wher a maad thing ſeith to him that made it, What haſt thou maad me ſo? Wher a pottere of cley hath not power to make, of the ſame gobet, oo veſſel into onour, a nothir into diſpyt!"

Taken from Lewis's edition of Wickliff's Tranſl. N. Teſt.—Lond. 1731. folio.

of them witneſſed a good confeſſion even unto death (*d*)."

"I am informed," ſays Mr. Rolt (*e*), "by a gentleman, who lives near Lutterworth, that the gown, which Dr. Wickliff wore, now covers the communion table in that Church (*f*). And, as this eminent man may juſtly be conſidered as the author of the Reformation, not only in England, but throughout all Europe; ſurely, ſome decent reſpect ſhould be paid to his worth, and a public monument erected to his memory. The Wickliffites were oppreſſed, but could not be extinguiſhed. Perſecution ſerved only to eſtabliſh that faith which became general at the Reformation, about an hundred years after theſe reſtraints were moderated. The whole nation then unanimouſly embraced the doctrine, which Wickliff began; and Popery was aboliſhed in England, that the purity of religion might encreaſe the bleſſings of liberty." Let me juſt add; ſurely, Arminianiſm muſt bluſh to call herſelf Proteſtant, when he, whom all unite to conſider as (under God) the "author of the Reformation, not in England only, but in all Europe," was not merely a Calviniſt, but more than a Calviniſt; and carried the doctrine of predeſtination to ſuch an extreme height, as even Luther, Calvin, and Zanchius, did not fully come up to. Mr. Hume is ſufficiently moderate, and not at all above par, in affirming Wickliff to have "aſſerted, that every thing was ſubject to fate and deſtiny, and that all men are predeſtinated either to eternal ſalvation or reprobation (*g*)."

IV. Thomas Bradwardin, perſonal chaplain to king Edward III. and at laſt archbiſhop of Canter-

(*d*) Diſſertations on the Prophecies, vol. iii. Diſſ. 24. part 1.

(*e*) Lives of the Reformers, p. 12.

(*f*) I, too, remember to have heard (but how authentically I cannot affirm) that the pulpit, in which Wickliff uſed to preach, is ſtill preſerved in the Church of Lutterworth.

(*g*) Hume's Hiſt. of Engl. vol. iii. p. 57. octavo, 1767.

bury,

bury, may rank with the brighteſt luminaries, of whom this or any other nation can boaſt. Mr. Camden obſerves, that Bradwardin Caſtle, in Herefordſhire, "gave both original and name" to this famous archbiſhop; "who, for his great variety of knowledge, and his admirable proficiency in the moſt abſtruſe parts of learning, was honoured with the title of Dr. Profundus (*b*)," or the profound doctor. That his anceſtors had been ſeated in that part of Herefordſhire mentioned above, is admitted by the general ſtream of writers, who have treated of this great man. But he himſelf was certainly born in Suſſex. Sir Henry Savile ſeems to have had very ſufficient reaſon for determining our prelate's birth-place to the city of Chicheſter (*i*). The year that gave him to the world, was, probably, 1290, about the middle of Edward I's reign. During the reign of Edward II. he was admitted into Merton College, Oxford: and was proctor of the Univerſity, A. D. 1325. He made himſelf perfect maſter of the philoſophy of Ariſtotle and Plato. But his chief talent lay in Mathematics and Theology: to theſe he devoted his main application, and in theſe he diſtanced the brighteſt of his cotemporaries. Sir Henry Savile had in his poſſeſſion a large manuſcript volume of aſtronomical tables, compoſed by this extraordinary man; on which that moſt learned

(*b*) Camden's Britannia, vol. i. col. 686.

(*i*) "De loco nativitatis, putabam aliquando apud Bradwardin caſtrum & vicum natum fuiſſe: —— ſed me ab hâc ſententiâ non improbabili revocârunt expreſſa verba ipſius Bradwardini ubi non obſcurè, ut mihi vitetur, innuit, ſe Ciceſtriâ oriundum. Verba ſunt: Per ſimilem etiam rationem quicquid nunc ſcribo Oxoniæ, ſcriberet pater meus Ciceſtriæ; quia genuit me ſcribentem imò avus & proavus, &c. (De causâ Dei, l. 3. cap. 22.) Ut non multùm aberrâſſe videantur Balæus, et antiquitatum Britannicarum auctor, qui Hartfeldiæ natum aſſerunt, in diœceſi Ciceſtrenſi: quibus auctoribus, aut quibus permoti argumentis, neſcio. Apud me, certè illa auctoris verba præponderant, dum aliquid certius ab aliis afferatur." Savilii præf. ad lect. Bradwardini operi, de causâ Dei præfix.

writer

writer ſat a very high value, and of which he ſpeaks in very reſpectable terms.

If Sir Henry admired Bradwardin as a philoſopher; he revered and was in raptures with him, as a divine. "It was in divinity," ſays he, "that the archbiſhop ſnatched the prize from all his co-ævals. That ſingle volume [*De Causâ Dei*], of which I am the editor, written to unravel and expoſe the falſehood of Pelagianiſm, is alone ſufficient to crown him with the moſt conſummate theologiſt of that century. We have the ſad, but reſiſtleſs conviction of experience, that the Pelagian hereſy has been a growing evil, for ages back. To this, therefore, our accompliſhed author oppoſed his artillery. Some lectures, which he had formerly delivered at Oxford, were the baſis of this noble performance. At the earneſt entreaty of the Merton Students, to whom thoſe lectures had been read, he arranged, poliſhed, enlarged, and reduced them into form, while he was Chancellor of the dioceſe of London. No ſooner was the work completed and given to the public, than vaſt multitudes of hands were employed in tranſcribing it, and copies of it were diffuſed throughout the greateſt part of Europe. No treatiſe could be more eagerly ſought and received. Hardly a library was without it. It captivated the very muſes; for Chaucer, the father of Engliſh poetry, who flouriſhed within a few years after the archbiſhop's deceaſe, puts him in the ſame rank with St. Auſtin, in thoſe lines, ſo pleaſingly remarkable for their antique ſimplicity of ſtyle:

"*But what that God afore wote, muſt needs bee,*
After the opinion of certain clerkis.
Witneſſe of him that any clerke is,
That in ſchole is great altercation
In this matter, and great diſputation,
And hath been of an hundred thouſand men.
But I ne cannot boult it to the bren,

As

As can the holy doctour Saincte Auſtin,
Or Boece, or the biſhop Bradwardin (k)."

Our excellent prelate, being a moſt exact mathematician, has, conformably to the rules of the ſcience he ſo much admired, thrown his theological arguments into mathematical order: and, I believe, was the firſt divine who purſued that method. Hence, his book againſt the Pelagians is, from beginning to end, one regular, ſtrong unbroken chain. This does, indeed, render his work abſtruſe and difficult, in ſome meaſure, to ſuch as peruſe it ſuperficially: but, at the ſame time, it conduces to make his reaſonings intrinſically firm, concluſive, and invincible (*l*).

Having, for ſome years, ſat as Divinity Profeſſor, at Oxford, with the moſt exalted reputation; he was admitted to the friendſhip of Richard de Bury, the learned biſhop of Durham: and, at length, went to live with him as one of his family. Seven other perſons (moſtly Merton men) conſpicuous for genius and learning, were alſo tranſplanted, from Oxford, to the houſe of that munificent prelate, who had a very high reliſh for the pleaſures and improvements reſulting from literary converſation (*m*).

Such was the modeſty of Bradwardin, that his preferments flowed in upon him, not only unſought, but undeſired. It was with great difficulty, that he

(*k*) Chaucer's lines have, perhaps, at preſent, little elſe, beſides their ruſt, to recommend them. But Sir H. Savile's verſion of them into Latin, is highly elegant and claſſical.

Non evenire non poteſt, quicquid Deus
Præſcivit: ità fert crebra doctorum cohors.
Hîc literatum quem libet teſtem voco,
Quantis utrinque fluctibus lis hæc ſcholas
Trivit, teritque: penè inextricabili
Ingenia nodo centies mille implicans.
Excutere nudos hæc aduſque furfures
(Quod ab Auguſtino præſtitum, et Boethio,
Ac Bradvardino epiſcopo) non ſum potis.

(*l*) Savil. in Præf. u. f.

(*m*) Anglia Sacra, vol. 1. p. 766. Edit. 1691.

was

was prevailed upon to let a canonry of Lincoln be annexed to his chancellorſhip of London, though the revenue of the latter was far from large. At length, his vaſt learning and the invariable purity of his life, rendered him ſo famous, that he was nominated by John Stratford, then archbiſhop of Canterbury, to be chaplain to his ſovereign, King Edward III. In this capacity, he attended that great Prince, during his long and ſucceſsful wars in France. With a warpleſs integrity, rarely found in thoſe who wait on kings, he made it his buſineſs to calm and mitigate the fierceneſs of his maſter's temper, when he ſaw him either immoderately fired with warlike rage, or unduly fluſhed with the advantages of victory. Nor were his piety and watchfulneſs limited to his monarch. He often preached to the army with ſuch meekneſs and perſuaſiveneſs of wiſdom, as reſtrained them from many of thoſe ſavage violences, which are too frequently the attendants on military ſucceſs.

On the death of Stratford, the church of Canterbury unanimouſly choſe Bradwardin for their archbiſhop. But the king being ſtill engaged in France, refuſed to part with him. John Ufford was then put in nomination for that ſee: but he dying ſoon after his election, Bradwardin was choſen a ſecond time, and the king yielded to the choice. He was, accordingly, conſecrated at (*n*) Avignon, in 1349, and returned into England ſoon after. But he did not long adorn the metropolitical chair. He died, at Lambeth, the October following (*o*); and was interred in St. Anſelm's chapel, by the ſouth wall,

(*n*) Bradwardin was a known predeſtinarian: a circumſtance, which, by no means, weighed in his favour with the Pope. Accordingly, on the day of the archbiſhop's conſecration, after the ceremony was over, he was inſulted, as he ſat at dinner, by a buffoon mounted on an aſs for that purpoſe. The perſon who procured him this low affront, was the cardinal of Tudela, the Pope's near kinſman.—Anglia Sacra, vol. i. p. 43.

(*o*) Vide Savil. ubi ſupra.

within

within the cathedral of Canterbury: diſgraced with a moſt wretched (*p*) Epitaph, which is only worthy of preſervation for its having once marked the tomb of ſo great a man.

I have dwelled the longer on the outlines of Bradwardin's Hiſtory, becauſe I find them ſo ſuperficially hurried over by the generality of our Engliſh writers. A ſpecies of negligence, not eaſily excuſable, where a character, ſo peculiarly illuſtrious, was the object of inveſtigation.

The Proteſtant cauſe is more indebted to this extraordinary prelate, than ſeems to be commonly known. He was, in ſome ſenſe, Dr. Wickliff's ſpiritual father: for it was the peruſal of Bradwardin's writings, which, next to the holy ſcriptures, opened that proto-reformer's eyes to diſcover the genuine doctrine of faith and juſtification. Bradwardin taught him" [i. e. taught Wickliff] "the nature of a true and juſtifying faith, in oppoſition to merit-mongers and pardoners, purgatory and pilgrimages (*q*)."

I now beg my reader's permiſſion to lay before him a few paſſages from Bradwardin's golden work, entitled, "The Cauſe of God:" written as an antidote againſt the Pelagian poiſon, and to demonſtrate the abſoluteneſs both of providence and grace. This ineſtimable performance was printed, A. D. 1618, by the united care (and, it ſhould ſeem, at the joint-expence) of the pious Dr. George Abbot, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the moſt learned Sir Henry Savile.

(*p*) *Doctor doctorum Bradwardin hâc jacet urnâ,*
Norma paſtorum laudabilis et diuturna.
Qui invidiâ caruit, vitam ſine crimine duxit,
Et ex ore ſuo quicquid ſit ſcibile fluxit.
Nullus ſub ſole eſt, cui ſic fuere omnia nota.
Cantia, nunc dole: triſteris et Anglia tota.
Vos qui et tranſitis hîc omnes, atque reditis,
Dicite quòd Chriſti pietas ſit promptior iſti.

Weever's Ant. Funeral Mon. p. 25.

(*q*) Hiſtory of Popery, vol. ii. p. 164.

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Bradwardin laments the Pelagianiſm of his own times, in terms but too applicable to the preſent: "What multitudes, O Lord, at this day, join hands with Pelagius, in contending for free-will, and in fighting againſt thy abſolutely-free grace; and againſt that great ſpiritual champion for grace, the apoſtle Paul! By how many is thy unmerited grace looked upon with ſcornful abhorrence, while they proudly inſiſt, that free-will alone is ſufficient to ſalvation! or, if they make uſe of the word grace, and ſlightly pretend to believe that grace is neceſſary; to what purpoſe is this pretence, while they boaſt of its being in the power of free-will to lay thy grace under obligation? thus making grace itſelf no longer gratuitous, but repreſenting thee as ſelling it, inſtead of giving it (*r*).

"Some, more haughty than even Lucifer, are not content with barely lifting themſelves to an equality with thee; but are moſt daringly deſirous to govern and controul thee, who art the King of kings. Such are they, who dread not to affirm, that, even in a common action, their own will walks firſt, as an independent miſtreſs; and that thy will follows after, like an obſequious handmaid: that they themſelves go foremoſt, like ſovereign lords; while thou walkeſt behind them, like an hired ſervant: that they iſſue their orders, as kings; and that thou, like an implicit ſubject, acteſt according to the imperial nod of their determining will (*s*)."

By

(*r*) "Quot Domine, hodiè cum Pelagio pro libero arbitrio contra gratuitam gratiam tuam, pugnant & contra Paulum, pugilem gratiæ ſpiritualem! Quot etiam hodiè gratuitam gratiam tuam faſtidiunt, ſolumque liberum arbitrium ad ſalutem ſufficere ſtomachantur! Aut ſi gratiâ utantur, vel perfunctoriè neceſſariam eam ſimulant, ipſamque ſe jactant liberi ſui arbitrii viribus promereri; ut ſic ſaltem nequaquam gratuita, ſed vendita videatur!" Bradw. De Cauſ. Dei, in præf.

(*s*) "Imò et ſuperbiores Lucifero, æqualitate tui nequaquam contenti, ſuper te, rex regum, impudentiſſimè geſtiunt ſe regnare. Non enim verentur aſtrure, ſuam voluntatem, in actione communi, præire,

By ſuch nervous reaſoning, and by ſuch well adapted images, did this chriſtian hero cut in ſunder the very ſinews of what was then termed antecedent merit; but which is now ſuppled into the ſmoother phraſe of, "conditional grace:" the ſame thing in ſenſe, though of ſofter ſound.

Among the firſt poſitions, which Bradwardin undertakes to prove, are theſe: that "God is, not contingently, but neceſſarily, perfect. That he is incapable of changing. That he is not (for inſtance) iraſcible and appeaſable; liable to the emotions of joy and ſorrow; or, in any reſpect, paſſive. Since, if he was, he would be changeable: whereas he is always the ſame, and never varies. He cannot change, for the better: becauſe," ſays Bradwardin, "He is already perfectly good [and happy]. Neither can he change, for the worſe: becauſe, he is neceſſarily perfect, and therefore cannot ceaſe to be ſo (*t*)."

He juſtly obſerves, that "the divine will is *univerſalitèr efficax*, univerſally efficacious: which is a mark of much higher perfection, than if his will could be hindered, fruſtrated, or miſs of its intent. If God could wiſh for any thing, and yet not have it; or if he could will any thing, and yet not bring it to paſs; he would and muſt, from that moment, ceaſe to be perfectly happy: which is impoſſible (*u*)." The conſequence is plain: viz; that every thing falls out according to God's original deſign, or effective and permiſſive determination.

præire, ut Dominam; tuam ſubſequi, ut ancillam: ſe præire, ut Dominos; te ſubſequi, ſicut ſervum: ſe velet reges, præcipere; te, tanquam ſubditum, obedire." Ibid.

(*t*) De Cauſâ Dei, lib. i. cap. i. corol. vi. p. 5.

(*u*) "Voluntas quoque divina eſt univerſali èr efficax modo dicto. Hoc enim eſt perfectius, quàm quòd eſſet impedibilis, fruſtrabilis, aut defectibilis ullo modo. Si etiam Deus quicquam vellet, & illud non haberet, nec fieret; non eſſet ſummè beatus & fœlix, ſed miſer." Ibid. Corol. viii.

He

He powerfully beats down the doctrine of human merit. He will not allow, that men can merit at the hand of God, either antecedently, or ſubſequently, i. e. either prior to grace received, or after it. Is it not more bountiful to give, than to barter? to beſtow a thing freely, gratis, and for nothing; than for the ſake of any preceding or ſubſequent deſert, which would be a ſort of price or payment? Even a generous man often confers benefits on others, without any view to the previous or ſucceeding merit of the object. Much more does God do this, who is infinitely richer in bounty, than the moſt liberal of his creatures (*x*)." From this, and an hundred other paſſages to the ſame effect, it is evident, that, where he applies the word *meritum* to any human act of obedience, he means no more by it, than moral goodneſs and virtue, as oppoſed to ſin and vice: in which ſenſe the term merit is inconteſtably uſed by ſeveral of the primitive fathers; though the word has been long and juſtly reprobated by all ſound divines, on account of the antichriſtian uſe that is made of it by Papiſts and Pelagians.

From that declaration of our Lord, My Father worketh hitherto, and I work; and from that aſſertion of the apoſtle, in him we live, and are moved [κινουμεθα], and exiſt; the archbiſhop infers, 1. "That no thing whatever can put any other thing into motion unleſs God himſelf, by his own proper influence, give motion to the thing ſo moved: 2. That no thing whatever can put any other into motion, without God's being the immediate mover of it: Yea, 3. That whatſoever is put in motion by any thing elſe, is more immediately moved by God

(*x*) "Et nonne liberalius eſt, dare, quàm vendere? gratis dare, quàm pro aliquo merito, veluti quodam præmio, præcedenti, aut etiam conſequenti? Nonne homo liberalis multa ſic donat? Cur ergò non Deus, liberalior infinitè?" Ibid. Corollar xxix. p. 23.

himſelf,

himſelf, than by the inſtrument which ſets it in motion, be that inſtrument what it will (*y*)." This is winding up matters to a very high ſtandard. And yet, perhaps, the ſtandard is no higher than Philoſophy itſelf can juſtify. But my readers will obſerve, that I am neither dictating to them, nor ſo much as giving my own expreſs opinion. My preſent buſineſs is, to quote Bradwardin, ſimply as his judgment ſtands. "God," ſays he, "maketh all things, and moveth all things. In every formation, and in every motion, there muſt be ſome unoriginated former, and ſome immoveable mover; elſe the proceſs would be endleſs (*z*)." His meaning is, that, unleſs we trace up all being, and all philoſophic motion (whether active motion, or paſſive), to God himſelf, we can find no firſt cauſe, wherein to reſt: we can have no central point to ſtop at, but ſhall be loſt amid the immenſe circumference of boundleſs, wild uncertainty.

What he delivers concerning the knowledge of God, is worthy of our utmoſt attention. "It is certain, that God hath a knowledge of all things preſent, of all things paſt, and of all things to come: which knowledge is ſupremely actual, particular, diſtinct, and (*a*) infallible (*b*). We may conſider it as

(*y*) "1. Quòd nihil poteſt quicquam movere, ſine Deo idem, per ſe, et proprie, movente. 2. Quòd nihil poteſt quicquam movere, ſine Deo immediate idem movente. 3. Quòd nihil poteſt quicquam movere, ſine Deo idem movente immediatius alio motore quocunque." Ibid. lib. i. cap. iv. p. 174.

(*z*) "Conſtat ſi quidem, ſecundùm præmiſſa tertio hujus & quarto, quòd Deus omnia facit et movet: et in omni factione & motione eſt aliquis factor & motor infactibilis & immobilis. Alioquin eſſet proceſſus infinitus." Ibid. cap. v. p. 175.

(*a*) The certainty and neceſſity of every future event, follow as ſtrongly on the principle of God's fore-knowledge, or omniſcience, as they can poſſibly do, on the hypotheſis of the moſt adamantine decree. Moreover, the very ſame arguments, by which the divine knowledge of future events is proved, are no leſs concluſive againſt that falſe ſpecies of capricious free-will which the Arminians ſo laviſhly aſcribe to mankind. That God's omniſcience and the Ar-

as either ſimple, or approbative. His ſimple or abſolute knowledge extends to every thing. His knowledge of approbation includes (over and above the former) the liking, the good pleaſure, and complacency of will, which he graciouſly bears to ſome perſons (*c*)." This diſtinction of the divine knowledge

minian free agency, cannot poſſibly ſtand together, is acknowledged by the eminent and penetrating Mr. Monteſquieu; who, accordingly, puts the following arguments into the mouth of his ſuppoſed Perſian. "It is not poſſible, that God can foreſee what depends on the determination of free-agents. Becauſe, what hath not exiſted, is not in being; and, conſequently, cannot be known: which, having no properties, cannot be perceived. God cannot read in the will, what is not in it; or ſee in the ſoul, a thing which is not yet exiſting in it: for, till ſhe hath determined, the action which ſhe determines upon is not in her. The ſoul is the maker of her own determination: but there are ſome circumſtances, in which ſhe is ſo irreſolute, that ſhe knows not on which ſide to determine. Sometimes ſhe may even do it, only to make uſe of her liberty; in ſuch manner that God cannot ſee this determination beforehand, neither in the action of the ſoul, nor in the actions which the objects make upon her. How then can God foreſee thoſe things which depend upon the determination of free agents? He could foreſee them but in two ways: by conjecture; which is irreconcilable with infinite fore-knowledge: or, otherwiſe, he muſt ſee them as neceſſary effects, which infallibly follow a cauſe which produces them as infallibly." This conſummate genius, preſently after, obſerves, that, "ſuppoſing God to foreſee in the latter reſpect, the idea of abſolute free-agency vaniſhes that inſtant: ſince the ſoul in her act of determining, would no more be free, than one billiard ball is free to lie ſtill when it is puſhed by another." See Monteſquieu's Perſian Letters, vol. i. let. lxix. Edit. 1762.

The matter, then, is reduced to this iſſue: either God muſt be ſtripped of his omniſcience; or men muſt be diveſted of independent and uncertain free-will. If one ſtands, the other muſt fall. Query: which had we beſt give up? Shall we commence Atheiſts? or ſhall we confeſs ourſelves dependent beings? What the Apoſtle ſays, on another occaſion, I, for my own part, make no ſcruple to ſay here: Let God be true, and every man a liar. Let the knowledge of God be infinite, though it ſhrivel human freedom to a ſpan. Better is it, not to rob God of an eſſential attribute, than to crown ourſelves with an ideal plume, or rather a diadem of ſtraw, and trample on real deity by ſuppoſing ourſelves kings and gods.

(*b*) Ibid. cap. 6, page 181.

(*c*) "Scientia Dei eſt duplex: ſcil. ſimplicis cognitiones, ſeu notitiæ; et approbationis & complacentiæ, quæ, ultra ſimplicem cognitionem,

ledge into abſolute and approbatory, is founded on clear ſcripture evidence. Of the firſt, ſee John xxi. 17. 1 John iii. 20. Of the latter, John x. 14. 2 Tim. ii. 19.

He employs an whole (*d*) chapter in proving, *Quod res ſcitæ non ſunt cauſæ divinæ ſcientiæ:* or, that "the things known are not the foundation of God's knowing them." This to ſome, may ſeem a queſtion of unneceſſary ſpeculation: but, on a nearer view it muſt appear to be a point of the utmoſt importance, in which the perfection (and conſequently, the very being) of God are deeply involved. A ſummary of Bradwardin's reaſoning on this ſubject, deſerves to be lain before the reader. "Knowledge is a principal perfection in God. If, therefore, his knowledge were derived from the objects with which it is converſant, it would follow, that God is indebted, for part of his perfection, to ſome other ſource than himſelf: in which caſe, he muſt ceaſe to be ſelf-perfect. He would, moreover, ceaſe to be all-ſufficient of himſelf: for he would ſtand in need of created help, to render his knowledge complete. His omniſcience would be forced to aſk aſſiſtance from the very things it comprehends. And how could his eſſential glory be matchleſs and unrivalled, if any portion of it was ſuſpended on aſſiſtance borrowed from without? Add to this, that if the things, which God knows, are themſelves the producing cauſe of his knowing them; they muſt be antecedent to his knowledge, either in commencement of exiſtence, or in order of nature. But they are not prior to his knowledge in either of theſe reſpects: for they are all created in time: whereas God and his knowledge are eternal. Beſides, if the Deity received any degree of his intelligence from the

tionem, ſeu notitiam, addit approbationem, beneplacitum, & complacentiam voluntatis." Ibid. cap. vii. p. 188, ubi plura videſis.

(*d*) Lib. i. cap. xv.

beings he has made, he would ceaſe to be a pure act: he would be paſſive, in that reception. Whence it would alſo follow, that he muſt be ſuſceptible of change. Nay, he would degenerate into a ſort of inferiority to the things known, and (being dependent on them for his knowledge) would, ſo far, be conſidered as leſs noble than they. The divine underſtanding would, like ours, be, occaſionally, in a ſtate of ſuſpence and fluctuation. God might rather be ſaid to poſſeſs a power or capability of knowing, than knowledge itſelf. He would only ſtand diſpoſed to know either this or that, indifferently, according as the event may turn: and would be actuated and determined by agency and cauſality extraneous to himſelf. And thus he would neither be the higheſt nor the firſt (*e*)." Swayed by ſuch reaſons as theſe, the archbiſhop concludes, that Averroes was right in affirming, that "the knowledge of God is a cauſe of the things known, and not *vice verſâ*. Human knowledge is founded on its reſpective objects; but all objects of the divine knowledge are founded on the divine knowledge itſelf (*f*)." He adds: "God himſelf is the firſt and the laſt, the

(*e*) "Scire namque eſt magnæ perfectionis in Deo. Si ergò ſcientia Dei cauſetur à ſcitis, ipſe recipit perfectionem ab alio. Ergò, non eſt, ex ſe, ſummè perfectus. Item, tunc non eſſet per ſe ſufficientiſſimus: indigeret enim ſcitis, à quibus poſſet ſuffragia ſuæ ſcientiæ mendicare. Quomodo ergo erit incomparabilitèr glorioſus, qui mendicatis ſuffragiis gloriatur?—Item, ſi ſcita eſſent cauſæ effectivæ divinæ ſcientiæ, præcederent illa. Tempore, vel naturâ. Sed quomodo, cùm iſta ſint temporalia, hæc æterna? Si etiam ità eſſet, Deus aliquo modo pateretur ab eis:—quare &, aliquo modo, ſimilitèr mutaretur. Quapropter & eſſet, quoquo modo, inferior & ignobilior rebus ſcitis. Item, tunc intellectus divinus de ſe eſſet in potentiâ et indifferentiâ ad ſciendum hoc, vel ſuum oppoſitum; & actuareter & determinaretur per aliud, ſicut noſter: & ſic non eſſet actus ſummus, nec primus." Ibid. lib i. cap. xv. p. 214, 215.

(*f*) "Sua [i. e. Dei] enim ſcientia eſt cauſa entis: ens autem noſtræ ſcientiæ. Sententia Ariſtotelis & Averrois eſt, Deum non intelligere aliud à ſe, à quo perficiatur, vel quod ſit cauſa intellectionis divinæ." Ibid. p. 215. E.

beginning

beginning and the end (*g*). But were the things which he knows, the baſis of his knowledge, it would follow, that his creatures contribute to improve their Maker's wiſdom. And thus, fooliſh man, or even the meaneſt beaſt of the field, would be exalted into a neceſſary aſſiſtant, counſellor, and teacher of the all-wiſe God. Well, therefore, may we ſay, with Auſtin, God knew all his creatures, both corporeal and incorporeal, not becauſe they exiſt; but they therefore exiſt, becauſe he knew them: for he was not ignorant of what he intended to create. Amidſt all the innumerable revolutions of advancing and departing ages, the knowledge of God is neither leſſened nor improved. No incident can poſſibly ariſe, which thou didſt not expect and foreſee, who knoweſt all things: and every created nature is what it is, in conſequence of thy knowing it as ſuch (*h*)."

We are not to ſuppoſe, that Bradwardin contended for what may be called, the mere knowledge of God, nakedly and abſtractedly conſidered. He aſſerted the infinity, the independency, and the efficacy of the divine knowledge, as founded on and reſulting from the eternal ſovereignty, and irreſiſtibility, of the divine will. "The will of God," ſays he, "is univerſally efficacious and invincible, and neceſſitates as a cauſe. It cannot be impeded, much leſs can it be defeated and made void, by any

(*g*) Ibid. p. 217. D.

(*h*) "Dicitque Petrus Lumbardus. Si ſcita eſſent cauſæ divinæ ſcientiæ, ipſa multa adjuvarent eum in ſciendo & darent ſibi conſilium & oſtenderent illi agenda: et ſic fatuus homo, vel aſinus, eſſet adjutor neceſſarius, conſiliarius, & doctor ſapientiſſimi Dei noſtri. Item Auguſtinus: univerſas autem creaturas, ſuas, ſpirituales et corporales, non, quia ſunt, ideò novit; ſed ideò ſunt, quia novit: non enim neſcivit, quæ ſuerat creaturus. Cùm decedant & ſuccedant tempora; non decedit aliquid, vel ſuccedit, ſcientiæ Dei. Quid improviſum tibi, qui noſti omnia? Et nulla natura eſt, niſi quia noſti eam." Ibid. p. 217, 218.

means whatever (*i*)." What follows is extremely concluſive: "If you allow, 1. That God is able to do a thing: and, 2. That he is willing to do a thing; then, 3. I affirm, that thing will not, cannot, go unaccompliſhed. God either does it now, or will certainly do it at the deſtined ſeaſon. Otherwiſe, he muſt either loſe his power, or change his mind. He is in want of nothing that is requiſite to carry his purpoſes into execution. Whence that remark of the philoſopher: He, that hath both will and power to do a thing, certainly doth that thing (*k*)." Again: If the will of God could be fruſtrated and vanquiſhed, its defeat would ariſe from the created wills, either of angels, or of men. But, could any created will whatever, whether angelic or human, counter-act and baffle the will of God; the will of the creature muſt be ſuperior, [either] in ſtrength, [or in wiſdom], to the will of the creator: which can by no means be allowed (*l*)." The abſolute immutability of God effectually ſecures the infallible accompliſhment of his will: whence our great Engliſh Auſtin juſtly obſerves, that "both the divine knowledge, and the divine will, are altogether unchangeable: ſince, was either one or the other to undergo any alteration, a change muſt fall on God himſelf (*m*).

Purſuant

(*i*) "Nunc autem reſtat oſtendere conſequentèr, quod divina voluntas eſt univerſalitèr efficax, inſuperabilis, & neceſſaria in cauſando: non impedibilis, nec fruſtalibus, allo modo." Lib. i. cap. x. p. 195.

(*k*) "Quis ergò neſciat, optimè conſequi, ſi Deus poteſt aliquid facere, et vult aliquid facere, facit illud; aut faciet pro tempore deſtinato, potentia & voluntate manente: nihil enim ei deeſt ad facere requiſitum. Dicitque philoſophus.—Si potuit, & voluit, egit: omnes enim, cùm potentes velint, agunt." Ibid.

(*l*) "Item, ſi voluntas divina fruſtraretur ab aliquo, vel etiam vinceretur; hoc maximè videretur à voluntate creatâ, angelica vel humanâ. Ergò hæc illam excederet in virtute: Quod 1. ſuppoſitio non concedit." Ibid.

(*m*) "Poſt hæc autem reputo demonſtrandum, quòd tam ſcientia Dei, quàm ejus voluntas, immutabilis ſit omninò: ſi enim hæc mutaretur,

Purſuant to theſe maxims, he affirms, that, "whatever things come to paſs, they are brought to paſs by the providence of God (*n*)." Nor could he ſuppoſe, that the great and bleſſed God is, in point of wiſdom, fore-caſt, and attention, inferior even to a prudent maſter of a family, who takes care of every thing that belongs to him; and makes proviſion beforehand, according to the beſt of his knowledge and power; and leaves nothing unregulated in his houſe, but exactly appoints the due time and place for every thing (*o*)."

The ſentiments of this learned writer, relative to the doctrine of fate, are too judicious and important, to be wholly paſſed over. "We muſt," ſays he, "beyond all doubt, admit, there is ſuch a thing as a divine fate (*p*)." By a divine fate, he means, the decree which God hath irrevocably pronounced, or ſpoken: for he ſeems to agree with thoſe who derive the word *Fatum*, either à *fando*, or from *fiat*; i. e. from God's ſpeaking or commanding things to be. Whence he adds: "Is it not written, that in the beginning of the creation, God ſaid, *fiat lux*, let there be light, and there was light? Is it not written again, he ſpake and it was done? Now, that divine fate is chiefly a branch of the divine will, which is the efficacious cauſe of things (*q*)." This ſeems to have been the real ſenſe, in which the doctrine of (*r*) fate was maintained by thoſe of the ancients, who

taretur, vel illa, commutaretur neceſſariò ipſe Deus." Lib. i. cap. xxiii. p. 237.

(*n*) "Volutio Dei eſt efficax, nec poteſt fruſtrari: patent ergò, omnia, quæ eveniunt, à Divinâ Providentiâ evenire." Lib. i. cap. 27. p. 261.

(*o*) "Item, bonus pater familias omnia cum concernentia curat. & providet, quantùm ſcit et poteſt; nec quicquam relinquit inordinatum in domo, ſed omnia ſuis locis & temporibus ordinat curioſè." Ibid. p. 262. A.

(*p*) "Fatum verò divinum eſt procul dubio concedendum." Lib. i. cap. 28. p. 265. (*q*) Ibid.

(*r*) "Virgil, in the beginning of his Æneid, ſays, every thing that happened to his hero was Vi Superum; and Homer ſays, The

who were truly wiſe and conſiderate. And, in this ſenſe, fate is a Chriſtian doctrine, in the ſtricteſt import of the word Chriſtian. Nay, ſet aſide fate, in this meaning of it, and I cannot ſee, how either natural or revealed religion can ſtand. St. Auſtin was of the very ſame mind. "All that connection," ſays he, "and that train of cauſes, whereby every thing is what it is, are by the ſtoics, called fate: the whole of which fate, they aſcribe to the will and power of the ſupreme God, whom they moſt juſtly believe to fore-know all things, and to leave nothing unordained. But it is the will itſelf of the ſupreme God, which they are chiefly found to call by the name of fate; becauſe the energy of his will is unconquerably extended through all things (*s*)." Another paſſage of St. Auſtin's, quoted alſo by Bradwardin, is no leſs pertinent and judicious: "We are far from denying that train of cauſes, wherein the will of God has the grand ſway. We avoid, however, giving it the name of fate; that is to ſay, unleſs you derive the word from *fando*. For we cannot but acknowledge, that it is written in the Scriptures, God hath once ſpoken, and theſe two things have I heard, that power belongeth unto God; and that mercy is with thee, for thou wilt render to every man according to his works. Now, whereas it is here ſaid, that God hath ſpoken once; the meaning is, that he hath ſpoken unchangeably

quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon, with all its direful conſequences, was by the will of Jove. When Cicero ſays, reaſon obliges us to own that every thing is done by fate; he means juſt the ſame by that word [viz. Fate,] as Homer does by Διὸς βουλη, and Virgil by his Vi ſuperum: Fatum eſt quod Dii fantur, vel quod Jupiter fatur. Cic. de div. 1. 55."

Tindal's Abridgment of Spence's Polymetis, p. 29.

(*s*) Stoici omnem connexionem ſeriemque cauſarum, quâ ſit omne quod ſit, fatum appellant: quod totum Dei ſummi tribuunt voluntati & poteſtati, qui veraciſſimè creditur cuncta præſcire, & nihil inordinatum relinquere. Sed ipſam præcipuè Dei ſummi voluntatem, cujus poteſtas inſuperabilitèr per cuncta porrigitur, fatum appellare probantur." Auguſtin, apud Bradwardin, u. ſ.

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and irreverſibly: even as he foreknew all things that ſhould come to paſs, and the things which he himſelf would do. The kingdoms of men are abſolutely appointed by Divine Providence. Which if any one is deſirous, for that reaſon, to attribute to fate, meaning by that word, the will and power of God, let him hold faſt the ſentiment, and only correct the phraſe (*t*)."

Bradwardin obſerves, that fate may be diſtinguiſhed into active and paſſive. "Active fate is no other than the declaratory decree, or pronounced determination, of the will of God, conſidered as the diſpoſer of all things. Paſſive fate may be taken, as the term itſelf imports, for that ſubjective effect and inherent tendency, with which things themſelves are imbued, in conſequence and by virtue of the aforeſaid pronounced determination (*u*)." He adds, from Ariſtotle and Iſidore, that the fable of the Three Fates is not without its reality. Atropos denoted what is paſt; Lacheſis, the future; Clotho, the preſent. But all the three names were only deſigned to ſhadow forth God himſelf, as Plato ſtrenuouſly affirms (*x*)."

(*t*) "Ordinum autem cauſarum, ubi voluntas Dei plurimùm poteſt, neque negamus, neque fati vocabulo nuncupamus, niſi fortè ut fatum à fando dictum intelligamus, id eſt, à loquendo. Non enim abnuere poſſumus eſſe ſcriptum in literis ſanctis, ſemel locutus eſt Deus, duo hæc audivi, quoniam poteſtas Dei eſt; & tibi, domine, miſericordia, quia tu reddes uni cuique ſecundùm opera ejus. Quod enim dictum eſt, ſemel locutus; intelligitur, immobilitèr: hoc eſt, incommutabilitèr eſt locutus. Sicut novit incommutabilitèr omnia quæ futura ſunt, & quæ ipſe facturus eſt.—Prorsùs Divinâ Providentiâ regna conſtituuntur; quæ ſi propterea quiſquam fato tribuat, quia ipſam Dei voluntatem vel proteſtatem fati nomine appellat; ſententiam teneat, linguam corrigat."

Idem, apud Eundem, u. ſ.

(*u*) "Adhuc autem eſt alia diſtinctio à fato bimembris. Uno enim modo accipitur fatum activè, pro famine, ſeu fatione, voluntatis divinæ, ſeu Dei omnia diſponentis. Alio modo paſſivè, ſicut & nomen magis ſonat, pro effectu & diſpoſitione paſſivâ hujus fati, ipſis rebus diſpoſitis inhærente." Lib. & cap. u. ſ. p. 266.

(*x*) Ibid.

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The ſpeculations of the celebrated Boëthius (*y*), as cited by Bradwardin, on the articles of Providence and Fate, are not unworthy of peruſal. Though far from unexceptionable, they are ſubtil and ingenious. "Providence is but another name for the Divine Wiſdom itſelf, which ſtands at the helm of all things, and by which all things are regulated.—On the other hand, fate is that inherent diſpoſition in things themſelves, by which Divine Providence concatenates all things in their proper ſucceſſions and dependencies. Providence comprehends all things, together and at once, however thoſe things may differ from each other, and however infinite their number may ſeem. But fate reduces each particular thing into actual order, by a proper diſtribution as to motion, place, form, and ſeaſon: inſomuch that, this actual evolution of the ſeries of cauſes (which evolution is temporary, or brought to paſs in time), may be termed Providence, if conſidered as united and gathered to a point in the divine view. This ſimple connected view of all futurities, which is a perfection eſſential to the uncreated mind, may alſo be called fate; if you conſi-

(*y*) Boëthius was deſcended of one of the moſt noble families in Rome. He ſtudied, eighteen years, at Athens; where, ſays Dr. Cave, "Omnium artium, omnium diſciplinarum, non modò elementa, ſed et reconditiora myſteria, penitùs imbibit:" inſomuch that he was deemed the prince of ſcholars. In the year 487, he was ſole conſul of Rome. After a life, ſtrangely variegated with proſperity and affliction, this great man fell a ſacrifice to the tyranny of Theodoric, and was beheaded in priſon, at Pavia, A. D. 524. During his exile to this place, he wrote his book on the Trinity; and during his impriſonment, he compoſed his Treatiſe on the Conſolation of Philoſophy; which latter was ſo admired by our matchleſs king Alfred, that he uſed conſtantly to carry it about him.—This illuſtrious linguiſt, phil-ſopher and poet, was interred at Pavia, in the Church of St. Auſtin, under the following epitaph:

Mæoniâ & latiâ linguâ clariſſimus, & qui
Conſul eram, hîc perii, miſſus in exilium.
Et quid mors rapuit? Probitas me vexit ad auras:
Et nunc fama viget maxima, vivit opus.
See Cave, Dupin, &c.

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der that view as gradually opened and unfolded in the ſeveral ſucceſſions of time; for, though fate and Providence are not ſtrictly the ſame, yet the former is dependent on the latter. That ſeries of cauſes and effects, which is ordered by fate, takes its riſe from the ſimplicity of Providence. As ſome curious artificer firſt forms, in his own mind, a deſign or plan of the piece of workmanſhip he intends to make, and then begins to take the work itſelf in hand, carrying into execution, through a regular and ſucceſſive progreſs, the idea which he had, before, ſimply and readily modeled: ſo God, by his providence, orders and ſettles, particularly and firmly, the things that are to be accompliſhed; and, by fate, manages, in all their multiplicity and temporary ſucceſſions, the things ſo ordered and ſettled. Whether, therefore, fate be rendered actually operative by the miniſtry of thoſe unembodied ſpirits, who are the ſervants and executors of Divine Providence; or by the human mind; or by the whole concurrence of ſubſervient nature; or by the motions of the celeſtial orbs; or by the power of the good angels; or by the manifold ſubtlety of dæmons; whether the chain of fate be complicated by any or all of theſe; thus much is certainly evident, that God's providence is the pure, immoveable model, according to which, matters are conducted; and that fate is the moveable connection, and temporary train, or ſeries, of thoſe things which the Divine Providence hath appointed to be accompliſhed. And from hence it is, that all things, which are ſubjected to fate, are likewiſe ſubjected to Providence; for Providence is the ſupreme regulatreſs, to which fate itſelf acts in ſubſerviency (z)."

Thus,

(z) Providentia eſt ipſa divina ratio, in ſummo omnium principe conſtituta, quæ cuncta diſponit: fatum verò, inhærens rebus mobilibus diſpoſitio, per quam Providentia ſuis quæque nectit ordinibus. Providentia namque cuncta paritèr, quamvis diverſa, quamvis infinita,

Thus far Boethius. The reader, perhaps, will be inclinable, with me, to aſk, what need of labouring the point ſo nicely? To what end, is the thread ſo finely ſpun? one thing, however, is plain: viz. that, by Providence, he underſtood God's eternal foreſight; and, by fate, that temporary diſpoſure of events, which we now call Providence (*a*). To the former, he might be induced by the literal import of the word providence. If I rightly remember, Cicero, ſomewhere, ſhews himſelf of the ſame mind, and aſſigns that very reaſon for it. It ſhould alſo be noticed, that, according to Boethius's doctrine, the divine fore-knowledge is not a naked, idle ſpecula-

finita, complectitur: fatum verò ſingula digerit, in motu, locis, formis, ac temporibus diſtributa; ut hæc temporalis ordinis explicatio, in divinæ mentis adunatu proſpectu, providentia ſit: eadem verò adunatio digeſta atque explicata temporibus, fatum vocetur; quæ, licèt diverſa ſint, alterum tamen pendet exaltero. Ordo namque fatalis ex providentiæ ſimplicitate procedit. Sicut enim artifex, faciendæ rei formam mente percipiens, movet operis effectum; & quod ſimpliciter, præſentarièque proſpexerat, per temporales ordinis ducit; ita Dèus Providentiâ quidem ſingularitèr, ſtabilitèrque, diſponit facienda: fato verò hæc ipſa, quæ diſpoſuit, multiplicitèr ac temporalitèr adminiſtrat. Sive igitur, famulantibus quibuſdam providentiæ divinæ ſpiritibis, fatum exercetur; ſeu animâ; ſeu totâ inſerviente naturâ; ſeu cœleſtibus ſiderum motibus; ſeu angelicâ virtute; ſeu dæmonum variâ ſolertiâ; ſeu aliquibus horum, ſeu omnibus, fatalis ſeries texitur; illud certè manifeſtum, eſt immobilem ſimplicemque gerendarum formam rerum eſſe providentiam; fatum verò eorum, quæ divina ſimplicitas gerenda diſpoſuit, mobilem nexum, atque ordinem temporalem. Quo fit, ut omnia, quæ fato ſubſunt, Providentiæ que ſubjecta ſunt: cui etiam ipſum quoque ſubjacet fatum." Boethius, apud Bradward. L. & C. u. f.

(*a*) The folio edition of Bailey's Dictionary has a paragraph (under the word fate), in which it is obſerved, that "fate primarily implies the ſame with *effatum*, a word, or decree pronounced by God; or a fixed ſentence, whereby the Deity has preſcribed the order of things, and allotted every perſon what ſhall befall him. The Greeks call it ειμαρμενη, as though a chain, or neceſſary ſeries of things, indiſſolubly linked together: and the moderns call it providence." The folio editors of the above work endeavour to explain away this judicious paſſage. But it is no wonder that a ſet of men, who are for excluding the ſon and ſpirit of God from the divine eſſence, ſhould be for expunging predeſtination and its correlative articles from the Chriſtian Creed.

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tion of what barely would come to paſs; but is tantamount to an operative, effective determination of what certainly ſhall come to paſs. For he ſuppoſes abſolute fate itſelf to be no more than a ſubordinate adminiſtrator, whoſe buſineſs it is, to ſee, that all events exactly correſpond to that active knowledge of them which God had from everlaſting. He expreſſes this, very clearly, in another ſubſequent paſſage, quoted by Bradwardin, wherein he reciprocates the terms providence and fate: "this ſeries of fate, or providence, tightly binds down the actions and circumſtances of men, by an indiſſoluble concatenation of cauſes (*b*)." To this Bradwardin himſelf heartily accedes, in a remarkable paragraph adopted from St. Auſtin: "Our wills have juſt ſo much ability, as God willed and foreknew they ſhould have. Conſequently, they cannot avoid being indued with whatever ability they poſſeſs; and what they are to do, they abſolutely ſhall do: for, both their ability and their works were foreknown of God, whoſe foreknowledge cannot be deceived (*c*)."

What Bradwardin profeſſedly delivers, concerning the ſubjection of our moſt voluntary actions to the decrees and providence of God; what he adds, concerning the co-incidence of permiſſion, and deſign; with ſeveral other correlative points of religious metaphyſics; I purpoſely omit: not for want of inclination, but of room. I ſhall, therefore, for the preſent, conclude my extract from his teſtimony, with a ſhort ſample, or two, of what he hath advanced, concerning predeſtination itſelf, the powers of free-will, and the perſeverance of the ſaints.

(*b*) "Hæc fati ſeries, ſeu providentia, actus fortunaſque hominum indiſſolubili cauſarum connexione conſtringit." Boeth. apud Eund. p. 267.

(*c*) "Quapropter et voluntates noſtræ tantum valent, quantum Deus eas valere voluit atque præſcivit. Et ideò, quicquid valent, certiſſime valent; et quod facturæ ſunt, ipſæ omninò facturæ ſunt: quia valituras ac facturas ille præſcivit, cujus præſcientia falli non poteſt." Auguſtin. apud Eund. ibid.

Predeſti-

Predeſtination is the only ground, on which the divine fore-knowledge and providence can ſtand. Abſtracted from the will and purpoſe of God, neither perſons, nor things, nor events, could have any certain futurition: conſequently, they could not be certainly fore-knowable. And providence muſt regulate every punctilio of its diſpenſations, by the ſame preconſtructed plan; or it would follow, that God is liable to unforeſeen emergencies, and acts either ignorantly, or contrary to his own will. The great Bradwardin was ſo clearly and deeply convinced of this, that he defines predeſtination to be (what in reality it is) neither more nor leſs than "*Æterna prævolutio Dei, ſive præ-ordinatio voluntatis divinæ, circa futurum:* God's eternal prevolition, or pre-determination of his will, reſpecting what ſhall come to paſs (*d*)." He treats the myſterious articles of election and reprobation in particular, with ſuch force and compaſs of argument, united with ſuch modeſty and judgment, as may, alone, ſuffice to claſs him among the ableſt reaſoners that ever wrote.

On the ſubject of liberty and neceſſity, he acknowledges that there is ſuch a thing (*e*) as free-will in God's reaſonable creatures: and, I believe, every Calviniſt upon earth acknowledges the ſame. The point, in diſpute between us and the Arminians, is, not concerning the exiſtence of free-will; but concerning its powers. That man is naturally endued with a will, we never denied: and that man's will is naturally free to what is morally and ſpiritually evil, we always affirmed. The grand hinge, then, on which the debate turns, is, whether free-will be, or be not, a faculty of ſuch ſovereignty and power, as either to ratify, or to baffle, the ſaving grace of God, according to its [i. e. according to the will's]

(*d*) Lib. i. cap xlv. p. 421.
(*e*) Lib. ii. cap. i.

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own independent pleaſure and ſelf-determination? I ſhould imagine, that every man of ſenſe, piety, and reflection, muſt, at once, determine this queſtion in the negative. If ſome do not, who are nevertheleſs poſſeſſed of thoſe qualifications, I can only ſtand amazed at the force of that prejudice, which can induce any reaſonable and religious perſon to ſuppoſe that divine wiſdom is fruſtrable, and the divine power defeatable, by creatures of yeſterday, who are abſolutely and conſtantly dependent on God for their very being (and, conſequently, for the whole of their operations) from moment to moment.

Bradwardin believed, that the human will, however free in its actings, is not altogether exempt from neceſſity. He ſuppoſed, that what the underſtanding regards as good, the will muſt neceſſarily deſire; and what the underſtanding repreſents as evil, the will muſt neceſſarily diſapprove (*f*). A remark this, not ſpun from the ſubtilties of metaphyſics; but founded in fact, and demonſtrable from every man's own hourly experience. The will, therefore, is no other than the practical echo of the underſtanding: and is ſo far from being endued with a ſelf-determining power, or with a freedom of indifference to this or that; that it cloſes in with the dictates of the intellect, as naturally, as neceſſarily, and as implicitly, as an eaſtern ſlave accommodates his obedience to the commands of the grand ſeignor. As the underſtanding is, thus, the directreſs of the will; ſo, ten thouſand different circumſtances concur to influence and direct the underſtanding: which latter is altogether as paſſive, in her reception of impreſſions from without, as ſhe is ſometimes active in her ſubſequent contemplation and combination of them. It follows, that if the underſtanding (from which the will receives its bias), be thus

(*f*) Lib. ii. cap. ii. per totum.

liable

liable to paſſive, ſubjective neceſſity; the will itſelf, which is abſolutely governed by a faculty ſo ſubject to neceſſitation, cannot poſſibly be poſſeſſed of that kind of freedom, which the Arminian ſcheme ſuppoſes her to be: ſince, if ſhe was, the hand-maid would be above her miſtreſs; and uncontrollable ſovereignty would be the immediate offspring of conſtringent neceſſity. Hence Bradwardin obſerves, that the human will cannot ſo much as conquer a ſingle temptation, even after God's regenerating power has paſſed upon the ſoul, *ſine alio Dei auxilio ſpeciali* (*g*), "without a freſh ſupply of God's particular aſſiſtance:" which particular aſſiſtance he defines to be, *voluntas Dei invicta* (*h*), the ſupernatural influence, reſulting from the unconquerable will of God: "armed with which, his tempted children get the better of every temptation; but deſtitute of which, every temptation gets the better of them (*i*)."

And, indeed, was not this the caſe, "The number of the elect and predeſtinate would," as Bradwardin nervouſly argues, "depend more on man than upon God. Men, by antecedently and caſually diſpoſing their own wills to this or that, would leave God no more to do, than to regulate his after-decrees in a ſubſervient conformity to the prior determinations of his creatures, and in a way of ſubjection and ſubordination to their will and pleaſure (*k*):" than which ſuppoſition, nothing can be more impious and irrational. Beſides, as he preſently adds, if free will was poſſeſſed of theſe enor-

(*g*) Lib. ii. cap. v. per totum.

(*h*) Ibid. cap. vi.

(*i*) "Quo tentati omnia ſuperant tentamenta; & ſine quo in omnibus ſuperantur." Cap. vi. p. 489.

(*k*) "Secundùm data [ſcil. Pelagiana], homines magis diſponunt electos & prædeſtinatos in numero, quàm faciat Deus ipſe: nam antecedentèr & cauſalitèr quia homines diſponunt voluntates ſuas, hoc modo, vel illo; ideò Deus, ſubſervientèr & ſubexecutivè, diſponit numerum electorum tantum vel tantum." P. 480.

mous

mous powers, "It would be vain and idle in a man to pray to God for victory over temptation, or to give him thanks for victory obtained (*l*)." When free-willers kneel down to petition God for any ſpiritual bleſſing, what is ſuch conduct, but a virtual renunciation of their own diſtinguiſhing tenet? And, on the footing of that tenet, what an unmeaning ſervice is the aſcription of praiſe!

Queſitum meritis ſume ſuperbiam.

Away with prayer. Away with thankſgiving. Neither the one, nor the other, has any reaſonable pretext to keep it in countenance, on the principles of Pelagius and Arminius. The whole lower creation cannot exhibit a more glaring example of human inconſiſtency, than a free-willer on his knees.

Bradwardin was not leſs clear on the important article of final perſeverance. According to him, this crowning grace is the gift of God alone: "When David prayed thus for his devout ſubjects, O Lord God, preſerve this will of their heart forever, and grant that their inclination to thy fear may continue in them (*m*); what was this, but a prayer for their ultimate perſeverance? and why did he aſk it of God, if it is not the gift of God, but acquirable by every man's own powers (*n*)?" To which the evangelical prelate adds: "As David beſought God, for the perſeverance of his own religious ſubjects; ſo alſo the Lord Chriſt, our myſtic David, beſought

(*l*) "Vanûm eſſet orare Deum, ut tentationem aliquam ſuperaret: vanum eſſet, pro tentationis victoriâ, gratias agere Domino Deo noſtro." Ibid.

(*m*) 1 Chron, xxix. 18. Our Engliſh tranſlation renders it thus: O Lord God,—keep this forever in the imagination of the thoughts of the heart of thy people and prepare [the margin reads, ſtabliſh] their hearts unto thee.

(*n*) "Sanctus quoque David, 1 paralip. ult. ſic orans Dominum pro populo ſibi devoto, Domine Deus, cuſtodi in æternum hanc voluntatem cordis eorum, & ſemper in venerationem tui mens iſta permaneat; quid aliud petit, quâm perſeverantiam conſummatam? Et cur eam petebat à Deo, ſi non daretur ab eo, ſed unuſquiſque propriis viribus illam poſſet habere?" Lib. ii. cap. viii. p. 492.

God the Father in behalf of his own people, ſaying, Holy Father, preſerve in thy own name thoſe whom thou haſt given unto me (*o*)." Quoting that paſſage, Jer. xxxii. 37—40. he thus deſcants: "Hence it is evident, that both a departure from evil, and a final continuance in good to the end of our days, by virtue of that everlaſting covenant which ſecures us againſt revolting from the Lord, which is what we mean by the phraſe of perſeverance to the end; neither takes its riſe from, nor is carried on by, man: but from and by God himſelf. For which reaſon, St. Auſtin, in his Treatiſe concerning the Bleſſing of Perſeverance, obſerves, that, in the above paſſage of ſcripture, God promiſes perſeverance to his people, ſaying, I will put my fear into their hearts, that they ſhall not depart from me. What is this (ſaith Auſtin), but to affirm, The fear which I will put into their hearts, ſhall be ſuch, and ſo great, that they ſhall preſervingly adhere to me (*p*)?"

It is now time for me to take my unwilling leave of Bradwardin, and put an end to this long Section, by juſt dropping a word,

V. Concerning that illuſtrious nobleman and martyr, Sir John Oldcaſtle, the good lord Cobham. No one, who is at all acquainted with Engliſh Hiſtory, need be informed, that this great and excel-

(*o*) "Sicut ille David, pro perſeverantiâ populi ſui, Deum oravit: ſic et David noſter Dominus Chriſtus pro populo ſuo Deum Patrem oravit: Pater, inquiens, ſerva eos in nomine tuo, quos dediſti mihi." Ibid.

(*p*) "Unde claret, quòd tàm reditio à malo, quàm permanſie in bono finalitèr, ſcilicèt, univerſis Diebus; pacto ſempiterno ut nunquam recedatur à Domino, quæ eſt perſeverantia uſque in finem; non eſt ſufficientèr nec antecedentèr ab homine, ſed à Deo. Unde et Auguſtinus, de bono perſeverantia, 2. eandem concluſionem per eandem autoritatem oſtendit: hanc enim, inquiens, ſcilicèt, perſeverantiam promiſit Deus, dicens, timorem meum dabo in cor eorum, ut a me non recedant. Quod quid eſt aliud, quàm quod talis ac tantus erit timor meus, quem dabo in cor eorum, ut mihi perſeverantèr adhæreant?" Ibid. p. 493.

lent

lent perſon fell a ſacrifice, in reality, to the rage of the Romiſh eccleſiaſtics; whoſe hatred he had incurred, by the purity of his religious principles, and by the honeſt boldneſs with which he aſſerted them. King Henry V. notwithſtanding his political maxim, of keeping fair with the Church, at all events, would, probably, never have gratified her with a victim of ſuch high rank, and for whom he had a great perſonal regard, if ſome churchmen of that age had not trumped up a charge of treaſon againſt lord Cobham: when, all the while, his real crime, in their eye, was hereſy. The Princes of the Houſe of Lancaſter could not but be perfectly conſcious that their poſſeſſion of the throne was founded on manifeſt uſurpation. This rendered them extremely ſuſpicious of their ſubjects; and induced them to avenge, with ſeverity, every meaſure that ſeemed to threaten the ſmalleſt approaches of a revolution. The Papiſts availed themſelves of this circumſtance, in the caſe of lord Cobham. The King, though diſpleaſed at this nobleman's abhorrence of Popery, was not, perhaps, ſorry to hear of his eſcape from the Tower: as that incident extricated his Majeſty from the painful alternative of either offending the Church, by pardoning Cobham in form; or of reſigning a victorious general and faithful ſubject to the flames, in order to ſatisfy a ſet of men who were, in reality, but ſo many dead weights on the wheel of civil government. But the eccleſiaſtics would not quit their prey ſo eaſily. Some time after lord Cobham's eſcape from the Tower, about 100 Wickliffites (or, as they were then called, Lollards) were aſſembled, for the purpoſes of devotion, in St. Giles's Fields; at that time, an uncultivated tract of ground, overgrown with buſhes and trees (*q*). The good people were then obliged by perſecution either entirely to

(*q*) Complete Hiſt. of Engl. vol. i. p. 311.

forego all religious meetings, or to hold them in ſuch ſequeſtered places as thoſe.

This innocent aſſembly was not conducted with the intended ſecrecy. The Papiſts gained intelligence of it, and alarmed the King (who was keeping Chriſtmas at Eltham) with information, that a number of Lollards, to the amount of at leaſt 20,000, with lord Cobham at their head, were rendezvouſed in St. Giles's Fields, with a view to exterminate the reigning family. The jealous King gave implicit credit to the falſe repreſentation: and, repairing, at midnight, to the place, with ſuch forces as he could haſtily collect, found about 80 perſons met together. Some were immediately ſlaughtered by the ſoldiers. About 60 were taken priſoners; of whom, 34 were afterwards hanged, and ſeven hanged and burned.

I mention this pretended conſpiracy, becauſe it ſealed the doom of lord Cobham. Though he was not ſo much as preſent at the above meeting, "A Bill of Attainder paſſed againſt him, a reward of a thouſand marks was ſet on his head, and a perpetual exemption from taxes promiſed to any town that ſhould ſecure him (*r*)." After a concealment of nigh four years, the attainted Peer was apprehended in Montgomeryſhire, and conveyed to London; where he received ſentence of death. He was executed in St. Giles's Fields, on Chriſtmas-day, December 25, 1417. Nothing could be more cruel than the mode of his ſufferings. All hiſtorians agree, that he was burned hanging. Echard ſays, that he was ſuſpended over the fire, by an iron chain, faſtened round his middle (*s*). The plate, in Mr. Fox, repreſents him as hanging with his back downward, by three chains: the firſt faſtened to

(*r*) Biograp. Dict. vol. xii. p. 278.
(*s*) Echard's Hiſt. of Engl. vol. i. p. 455.

his

his middle, by an iron hoop; the ſecond, to his right thigh; the other to his neck (*t*).

We have very little remaining of what was written by the noble martyr. His two confeſſions of faith, which occur in Fox, were evidently ſo worded, as to give no more offence to the times, than was abſolutely neceſſary: a preçaution, which, however, did not ſave the life of their author. I therefore reſt the evidence of his probable Calviniſm, on the known Calviniſm of Wickliff. I have already proved, that Wickliff carried the doctrines of predeſtination and grace to a very great length: nor is it likely, that lord Cobham ſhould have been ſo devoted an admirer of Wickliff, as he certainly was; nor have put himſelf to the labour, expence, and danger, of tranſcribing and diſperſing the writings of that reformer, with ſuch zeal and induſtry, as he certainly did; had he differed from Wickliff on points which ſo materially affect the whole ſyſtem of Proteſtantiſm. A very judicious writer affirms, that lord Cobham "cauſed all the works of Wickliff to be wrote out and diſperſed in Bohemia, France, Spain, Portugal, and other parts of Europe (*u*)." Which, I ſhould imagine, he would no more have done, had he not adopted Wickliff's plan of doctrine, than the vicar of Broad Hembury would be at the pains and coſt of reprinting and diſperſing the lucubrations of Mr. John Weſley.

Indeed, the principles of all Wickliff's diſciples appear, ſo far as I have been able to find, highly Calviniſtical. Take one ſpecimen in lieu of many.

About the year 1391, during the reign of Richard II. a letter of expoſtulation, written, by a Lollard, to one Nicolas Hereford (who had apoſtatized from Wickliffiſm to Popery), has the two following paragraphs: "No perverſion of any reprobate,"

(*t*) Acts and Mon. vol. i. p. 731.
(*u*) Rolt's Lives of the Reformers, p. 15.

ſays the pious expoſtulator, "is able to turn the congregation of the elect from the faith: becauſe all things that ſhall come to paſs, are eternally, in God, deviſed and ordained for the beſt unto the elect Chriſtians. Like as the myſtical body of Chriſt is the congregation of all the elect; ſo Antichriſt, myſtically, is the Church of the wicked and of all the reprobates (*x*)." So true is it, that the doctrine of abſolute predeſtination was held and maintained by the very firſt Proteſtants, long before the actual eſtabliſhment of that doctrine at the Reformation.

SECTION XI.

The Charge of Mahometaniſm *refuted.*

THE reader may, if he pleaſes, conſider himſelf as entered, at preſent, on a kind of hiſtorical voyage. Mr. Sellon pretends to think, that we are in full ſail for Conſtantinople; and that Calviniſm is at once the compaſs by which we ſteer, and the breeze by which we are carried, plump into the Grand Seignor's harbour. Predeſtination, and the *ineluctabilis ordo rerum*, are, according to this ſage Arminian geographer, ſituate only in the latitude of Mahomet: and every man, who believes, with ſcripture, that God worketh all things after the counſel of his own will; and, with our Church, that all things, both in heaven and earth, are ordered by a never-failing providence; every man, who thus believes, is, in my redoubtable adverſary's eſtimation, a Mahometan.

I muſt acknowledge, that ſuch a contemptible cavil as this, is too low and ridiculous to merit a ſingle moment's attention. However, as it has been urged, formerly, by the wretched authors of *Cal-*

(*x*) Fox's Acts and Mon. vol. i. p. 574.

vino-

vino-Turciſmus (*y*); and now repeated, with an air of ſeeming ſerioufneſs, by Mr. John Weſley's advocate; I beg permiſſion of my readers, to touch at Conſtantinople in earneſt: not with a view to ſtay there for good, but juſt to look about us, and determine, for ourſelves, whether Calviniſm and Mahometaniſm are the ſame, or not.

Dean Prideaux ſhall ſet us on ſhore. This learned hiſtorian obſerves, that the religion of Mahomet is "made up of three parts: whereof one was borrowed from the Jews, another from the Chriſtians, and the third from the Heathen Arabs (*z*)." A whole third, then, of the Mahometan ſyſtem, is neither more nor leſs than Chriſtianity at ſecond hand. But ſhall we therefore diſclaim a dozen or twenty articles of our Chriſtian Creed, becauſe thoſe articles were adopted by Mahomet? What a prodigious gap ſuch abſurd conduct would make in our Confeſſion of Faith, may be eaſily judged of, from the enſuing ſpecimen.

"The firſt doctrine that Mahomet propagated among them [i. e. among his followers at Mecca], was, That there is but one God, and that he only is

(*y*) A book was publiſhed under this title at Antwerp, in the year 1569, and again at Cologne, in 1603. It was the joint-work of two Engliſh Papiſts (William Reynolds and William Gifford), who had fled their country. Its drift was, to prove the conformity of Calviniſm and Mahometaniſm. Gifford, who finiſhed and publiſhed it, was a prieſt; and had ſeveral times encouraged ſome aſſaſſins to murder queen Elizabeth. To the above book, the learned Dr. Sutcliffe, dean of Exeter, publiſhed an anſwer: the title to which ran thus; *De Turco-Papiſmo*, &c. i. e. "Of the Mahometan Popery: or a Treatiſe of the Conſpiracy of Turks and Papiſts againſt the Church and Faith of Chriſt; of their agreement and reſemblance in religion and morals. To which are added, four books concerning the ſlanders and calumnies of the Mahometan-Papiſts; in anſwer to that moſt defamatory libel, entitled Mahometan Calviniſm, written by William Gifford, a notorious and vile flatterer of the Popes and Jeſuits." See Bayle, vol. v. art. Sutcliff.

(*z*) Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 49. Edit. 1713.

to be worſhipped; and that all idols were to be taken away, and their worſhip utterly aboliſhed (*a*).

"He allowed both the Old and the New Teſtament; and that Moſes and Jeſus Chriſt were prophets ſent from God (*b*).

"They [i. e. the Mahometans] own that there are angels, executioners of God's commands, deſigned for certain offices both in heaven and earth (*c*).

"They believe a general reſurrection of the dead (*d*).

"They hold both a general judgment, and a particular one [at death (*e*)].

"If a perſon aſk, Why God hath created the infidels and wicked? Their anſwer is, That we ought not to be over-curious to ſearch into the ſecrets of God (*f*).

"The morals of the Mahometans conſiſt in doing good, and ſhunning evil (*g*).

"Their caſuiſts hold, that actions, done without faith in God, are ſins (*h*).

"They forbid to judge of uncertain things; becauſe it doth not belong to us to judge of the things which God hath concealed from us (*i*).

"Their devotion extends even to the ſacred names. When they pronounce the name of God, they make a bow; and add, moſt high, moſt bleſſed, moſt ſtrong, moſt excellent, or ſome ſuch epithet (*k*)."

"The Mahometans tolerate all religions (*l*).

"They are commanded to pray, at the appointed times:

"And to give alms (*m*)."

(*a*) Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 17.
(*b*) Prideaux, ibid. p. 19.
(*c*) Great Hiſt. Dict. under the word Mahometaniſm.
(*d*) Ibid. (*e*) Ibid. (*f*) Ibid. (*g*) Ibid.
(*h*) Ibid. (*i*) Ibid. (*k*) Ibid.
(*l*) Salmon's Geogr. Gram, p. 431.
(*m*) Salmon, ibid. p. 437.

"They

" They hold an heaven and hell (*n*).

" Mahomet forbad adultery to his followers (*o*).

" They aſſert the immortality of the ſoul (*p*)."

Among the maxims of the Alcoran, are; " Forgive thoſe who have offended thee. Do good to all (*q*)."

Now, would any reaſonable Chriſtian ſtrike out theſe articles from his Creed, only becauſe Mahomet has inſerted them in his? And does it follow, that the moſt reſpectable perſons in the world, who are influenced by theſe excellent principles of faith and practice, are, for that reaſon, to be dubbed Mahometans? But the plain truth is, Mr. Sellon knows no more of Conſtantinople, than he does of Geneva. He is equally unacquainted with the real ſyſtems both of Turciſm and Chriſtianity. Even a ſuperficial ſurvey of his ſubject would have ſufficed to inform him, that " The queſtions, relating to predeſtination and free-grace, have been agitated, among the Mahometan doctors, with as much heat and vehemence, as ever they were in Chriſtendom (*r*)." The Mahometans have their ſort of Arminians, no leſs than we. If Mr. Sellon aſks, " How goes the ſtream of doctrines at Conſtantinople?" I alſo can aſk, in my turn, How goes the ſtream at Iſpahan? If the Mahometan Turks, of the ſect of Omar, believe an abſolute predeſtination and providence; it is no leſs certain, that the Mahometan Perſians, of the ſect of Halis, deny predeſtination, and aſſert free-will, with as much outrageous fervour, as Mr. John Weſley himſelf. But ſhall I from hence infer, that Mr. Weſley is a Mahometan? I cannot, in juſtice, pay the Mahometans ſo bad a compliment. I rather ſay to

(*n*) Martin's Philolog. Library, p. 85.

(*o*) Martin, ibid. p. 86. (*p*) Martin, ibid.

(*q*) Voltaire's Eſſay on Univerſal Hiſt. vol. i. p. 44. Dr. Nugent's edition, 1761.

(*r*) Brown's Travels, p. 361.

Mr.

Mr. Weſley, what the excellent Mr. Hervey ſaid to him long ago, "Before you turn Turk, or Deiſt, or Atheiſt, ſee that you firſt become an honeſt man. They will all diſown you, if you go over to their party, deſtitute of common honeſty. Out of zeal to demoliſh the doctrine of election, you ſcruple not to overleap the bounds of integrity and truth (*s*)."

After all, there is not that conformity between the Chriſtian and the Turkiſh doctrine of predeſtination, which Mr. Weſley and his conſiſtory would have us believe. Do Mahometans aſſert an election in Chriſt to grace and glory? Do they maintain, that, in the pre-ordination of events, the means are no leſs pre-ordained, than the end? Do they conſider the Son of God, as joint agent with his Father, in the providential diſpoſure of all things below? Do they hold the eternal covenant of grace, which obtained among the perſons of the godhead, in behalf, and for the ſalvation, of a peculiar people, who ſhall, by the regenerating efficacy of the Holy Ghoſt, be made zealous of good works? Do the Mahometans believe any thing about final perſeverance, and the inamiſſibility of ſaving grace? No ſuch thing. I can eaſily prove their denial of theſe goſpel doctrines, whenever that proof ſhall be neceſſary. And even as to the predeſtination of temporal events, the diſciples of Omar (ſo far as I can hitherto find, and unleſs their doctrine be greatly miſ-repreſented) ſeem to have exceeding groſs and confuſed ideas. They appear to conſider predeſtination as a ſort of blind, rapid, over-bearing impetus, which, right or wrong, with means or without, carries all things violently before it, with little or no attention to the peculiar and reſpective nature of ſecond cauſes. Whereas, according to the Chriſtian ſcheme, predeſtination forms a wiſe, regular, connected plan; and Pro-

(*s*) Hervey's Eleven Letters to Weſley, p. 285.

vidence

vidence conducts the execution of it, in ſuch a manner, as to aſſign their due ſhare of importance to the correlative means; and ſecure the certainty both of means and end, without violating or forcing the intellectual powers of any one rational agent.

I have already ſcrupled to enrol Mr. Weſley himſelf on the liſt of muſſulmen. Some of his tenets, however, are ſo nearly related to the worſt branches of the Mahometan ſyſtem, that he might very readily be miſtaken, at firſt ſight, for a diſciple of Hali. Survey the dark ſide of Mahometiſm; and you will almoſt aver, that the portrait was intended for the mufti of Moorfields.

"The Mahometans would have us believe, that he [viz. Mahomet] was a ſaint, from the fourth year of his age: for then, ſay they, the angel Gabriel took him from among his fellows, while at play with them; and carrying him aſide, cut open his breaſt, and took out his heart, and wrung out of it that black drop of blood, in which (ſay they) was contained the *fomes peccati*: ſo that he had none of it ever after (*t*)."—So much for Mahomet's ſinleſs perfection.

"They hold it unlawful to drink wine; and to play at cheſs, tables, cards, or ſuch-like recreations (*u*).

"They eſteem good works meritorious of heaven (*x*).

"Some will be honoured for their abſtinence, in eating and drinking ſparingly and ſeldom. Some profeſs poverty, and will enjoy no earthly things. Others brag of revelations, viſions, and enthuſiaſms. Some are for traditions, and merits, by which [they ſuppoſe] ſalvation is obtained, and not by grace (*y*)." How eaſy would it be, to run the parallel between Mahometans and ſome other folks!

(*t*) Prideaux's Life of Mahom. p. 141.
(*u*) Roſs's View of all Religions, p. 164. edit. 1683.
(*x*) Roſs, ibid. (*y*) Roſs, ibid. p. 169.

I muſt,

I muſt, however, partly acquit Mr. Weſley of Mahometiſm, on the head of recreations; for, in a certain two-penny extract from ſomebody elſe, publiſhed in the year 1767, Mr. Weſley recommends the recreating exerciſe of battle-dore and ſhuttle-cock, together with that of the wooden horſe.

Beſide the above articles, the Mahometans hold, that there is a third, or middle place, for the reception of ſome departed ſouls (*z*).

They deny the perpetuity of faith: believing, that whoſoever renounceth it, loſeth the merit of all his good works; and that, during all that time, he can do nothing acceptable to God, until he hath repented: and then he becomes a muſſelman, or faithful, again (*a*)." Their derviſes "live a very retired and auſtere life; going bare-foot, with a leathern girdle round their bodies, full of ſharp points, to mortify the fleſh (*b*)."

The Mahometan bigotry is ſo exceſſive, that "they eſteem themſelves only to be wiſe, valiant, and holy. The reſt of the world they look upon to be fools and reprobates; and uſe them accordingly (*c*)."

Among the followers of Mahomet, "Any perſon may be a prieſt, that pleaſes to take the habit and perform the functions; and may lay down his office when he will: there being nothing like ordination amongſt them (*d*)."

By this time, the reader may judge, whether the Church of England, or Mr. Weſley and his friend Sellon, make the neareſt approaches to Mahometiſm. As to myſelf in particular, I can give a deciſive proof that I am not a Mahometan. It might be better for Mr. Sellon, if I was. For, it is one of the eſſential commands, enjoined by the Alcoran,

(*z*) Great Hiſt. Dict. Article, Mahometiſm. (*a*) Ibid.
(*b*) Ibid. Article, Turks. (*c*) Salmon's Geogr. Gram. p. 4. 8.
(*d*) Salmon's Geogr. Gramm. p. 430.

that

that Mahomet's diſciples muſt "never diſpute with the ignorant (*e*)." Conſequently, were Mahomet and I maſter and ſcholar, the Yorkſhire Arminian would have eſcaped the whole of his preſent chaſtiſement.

SECTION XII.

The Judgment of the moſt eminent Engliſh Martyrs, who ſuffered for the Goſpel, prior to the Settlement of the Reformation,

HAVING ſeen "how the ſtream goes at Conſtantinople," let us weigh anchor, and return to our own more enlightened clime.

When it pleaſed God to viſit this kingdom with a revival of goſpel truth, the perſons, whoſe intereſt it was to keep mankind involved in religious darkneſs, ſtrained every ſinew of ſecular and eccleſiaſtical power, to obſtruct the progreſs of a doctrine, which, if not ſeaſonably ſmothered, would inevitably prove fatal to that golden idol, which the churchmen of thoſe times worſhipped. They well knew, that the ſcheme of free ſalvation, as it ſtands ſimply revealed in Scripture, lays the axe, not only to the tree, but to the very root, of Popery: which, like Dagon before the ark, cannot but fall, in proportion as the doctrines of gratuitous election and unconditional juſtification prevail and extend. Hence, the ſword of perſecution was unſheathed: and they, whoſe eyes God had opened, could ſing, with thoſe of old, for thy ſake, we are killed all the day long; we are counted as ſheep appointed to be ſlain.

While the ſword was brandiſhed, and while the fires were flaming, Proteſtants went chearfully to

(*e*) Voltaire's Eſſay on Univ. Hiſt. vol. i. p. 44.

death

death for the doctrines of Chriſt. But, now the ſword is laid aſleep, and the fires are extinguiſhed, the doctrines of Chriſt are too generally forgot: nay, what is ſtill more ſhocking, the very mention of thoſe doctrines ſeems to frighten ſome nominal Proteſtants out of their wits. If we have loſt the perſecutions, we have alſo (in a manner) loſt the ſpirit and faith of our Chriſtian predeceſſors. This will too plainly appear, ſo far as the articles now in queſtion are concerned, even from the few following examples.

I. William Sawtree, an early and eminent diſciple of Wickliff, was rector or vicar of St. Scithe's pariſh in London, and the firſt who had the honour of being burnt for Proteſtantiſm in England. That this worthy proto-martyr held the doctrine of election, appears, from part of a paper which he wrote and delivered to Arundel, archbiſhop of Canterbury. In the fulneſs of his zeal againſt angel-worſhipping, he gave the prelate to underſtand, that, was he bound to worſhip one or the other, he would, of the two, "rather worſhip a man, whom he knew to be predeſtinated, than worſhip an angel:" aſſigning for reaſon, becauſe "the one is a man of the ſame nature with the humanity of Chriſt, which an angel is not (*f*)." He ſuffered death, A. D. 1400.

II. Mr. John Claydon, a devout tradeſman of London, was burned in Smithfield, A. D. 1415. An Engliſh book had been found in his cuſtody, from whence fifteen articles of hereſy were extracted, which ſerved as the ground-work of his proſecution and condemnation. Among theſe articles, was one, concerning election and perſeverance, which ran thus: "5. That no reprobate is a member of the Church, but only ſuch as be elected and predeſtinate to ſalvation: ſeeing the Church is no other

(*f*) Fox's Acts and Mon. vol, i. p. 587.

thing

thing but the congregation of faithful ſouls, who do and will keep their faith conſtantly, as well in deed, as in word (*g*)." This book, it ſeems, was entitled, "The Lanthorn of Light (*h*): and Mr. Claydon confeſſed, that he "had got that copy of it tranſcribed and bound at his own expence." On which, he was conſigned to the flames, as incorrigible.

III. Mr. Thomas Bilney, who had been the inſtrument of biſhop Latimer's converſion, was burned in 1531. Among the articles of his examination before Tonſtal, biſhop of London, were the following: "Whether he believed the Catholic Church may err in the faith, or no? And whether he thought the Catholic Church is only a ſpiritual Church, intelligible and known only to God?" To this double interrogatory, Bilney anſwered in theſe words: "The Catholic Church" [i. e. the univerſal Church of God's predeſtinated people,] "can by no means err in faith: for it is the whole congregation of the elect; and ſo known only unto God, who knoweth who are his (*i*)." Two other enſnaring queſtions were put to this holy man: "Whether he believed all things, pertaining to ſalvation and damnation, to come of neceſſity, and nothing to be in our own wills? And, whether he believed God to be the author of all evil (*k*)?" He diſcreetly anſwered, "God is the author of the puniſhment only, but not of the offence (*l*)." He would never have been put to the teſt of ſuch queries as theſe, if he had not been conſidered as a known predeſtinarian.

IV. James Bainham, a gentleman of birth and learning, by profeſſion a lawyer, of the Middle

(*g*) Fox, i. 727.

(*h*) Its author was one Mr. John Grime, a Wicklifiſt. The ſhort extract from it, cited above, may ſtand as a general ſpecimen of the doctrines with which the writings of the earlieſt Proteſtants were fraught.

(*i*) Fox, ii. 213.

(*k*) Ibid.

(*l*) Ibid.

Temple,

Temple, ſuffered at the ſtake in 1532. His judgment concerning the evangelical doctrines, ſufficiently appears from one of his anſwers, on his firſt trial before Stokeſley, biſhop of London. "All godlineſs," ſaid the martyr, "is given of God by his abundant grace: the which no man of himſelf can keep, but it" [i. e. the retaining, as well as the reception, of grace] "muſt be given him of God(*m*)." So highly was this choſen veſſel favoured in his laſt moments, that, when his legs and arms were half conſumed by the flames, he addreſſed the ſpectators in theſe memorable words: "O ye Papiſts, ye look for miracles. Here you may ſee a miracle; for, in this fire, I feel no more pain, than if I were on a bed of down. It is to me a bed of roſes."

V. William Tyndal, though put to death in Flanders, muſt yet, as a native of this kingdom, be numbered among the Engliſh martyrs. He was a perſon of ſeraphic piety, indefatigable ſtudy, and extraordinary learning. His modeſty, zeal, and diſintereſtedneſs, were ſo great, that he declared, he ſhould be content to live in any county of England, on an allowance of ten pounds per annum, and bind himſelf to receive no more, if he might only have authority to inſtruct children and preach the goſpel.

Heylin himſelf confeſſes, that Tyndal has a "flying-out againſt free-will(*n*)." It will preſently be ſeen, that that early and eminent Proteſtant "flew out," not only againſt free-will, but alſo againſt other corrupt branches of the Popiſh and Pelagian ſyſtem.

His tranſlation of the New Teſtament into Engliſh (for he did not live to finiſh the Old) made the cloud of perſecution, which had been long hovering over him, burſt into a ſtorm. He was apprehended at

(*m*) Fox, ii. 246. (*n*) Miſcel. Tracts, p. 544.

Antwerp

Antwerp (through the treachery of an ungrateful Engliſhman, whom he had liberally relieved and hoſpitably entertained), and carried priſoner to Filford, eighteen miles from that city; where he was ſtrangled and burned, in 1536.

During his reſidence at Antwerp, he ſent over a letter to Mr. Frith, (then a priſoner in the Tower, and afterwards a martyr) exhorting him to fortitude under his ſufferings for the name of Chriſt. "The will of God," ſays Tyndal, in this letter, "be fulfilled! and what he hath ordained to be, ere the world was made, that come, and his glory reign over all (*o*)!" He adds: "There falleth not an hair, till God's hour be come: and when his hour is come, neceſſity carrieth us hence, though we be not willing.—Be chearful; and remember, that, among the hard-hearted in England, there is a number reſerved by grace; for whoſe ſakes, if need be, you muſt be ready to ſuffer." Nothing, on this ſide Heaven, is ſo ſublime and animating, as the Chriſtian philoſophy. And what is the Chriſtian philoſophy, but another name for Calviniſm?

From ſeveral treatiſes, written by Mr. Tyndal, a great number of propoſitions were extracted by the Papiſts, and branded for, "heretical and erroneous." Of theſe propoſitions, the following are ſome (*p*).

"Faith only juſtifieth.

"The ſpirit of God turneth us and our nature, that we do good as naturally" [i. e. as neceſſarily] "as a tree brings forth fruit.

"Faith rooteth herſelf in the hearts of the elect.

"Works do only declare to thee that thou art juſtified.

"If thou wouldeſt obtain Heaven by the merits and deſervings of thine own works, thou wrongeſt and ſhameſt the blood of Chriſt.

(*o*) Fox, ii. 307. (*p*) Fox, ii. 497—499.

" The true believer is heir of God, by Chriſt's deſervings: yea, and in Chriſt was predeſtinate, and ordained unto eternal life, before the world began.

" In believing, we receive the ſpirit of God, which is the earneſt of eternal life; and we are in eternal life already, and already feel in our hearts the ſweetneſs thereof, and are overcome with the kindneſs of God and Chriſt: and therefore we love the will of God; and, of love, are ready to work freely, and not to obtain that which is given us freely, and whereof we are heirs already.

" The longing and conſent of the heart to the law of God, is the working of the ſpirit; which God hath poured into thy heart, in earneſt that thou mighteſt be ſure that God will fulfil all the promiſes he hath made to thee. It is alſo the ſeal and mark, which God putteth on all men whom he chuſeth to everlaſting life.

" Yea, and by thy good deeds ſhalt thou be ſaved: not which thou haſt done, but which Chriſt hath done for thee. For Chriſt is thine, and all his deeds are thy deeds. Chriſt is in thee, and thou in him; knit together inſeparably: neither canſt thou be damned, except Chriſt be damned with thee; neither can Chriſt be ſaved, except thou be ſaved with him." The two laſt clauſes of this paragraph are, certainly, very ſtrongly expreſſed. Yet they contain a truth, which our Lord himſelf affirmed, though in terms leſs harſh: Where I am, there ſhall alſo my ſervant come.—Becauſe I live, ye ſhall live alſo. Chriſt myſtical can no more periſh, than Chriſt perſonal. Tyndal goes on.

" Hark what St. Paul ſaith: If I preach, I have nought to rejoice in, for neceſſity is put unto me.—If I do it willingly," ſaith he, " then have I my reward; that is, then am I ſure that God's ſpirit is in me, and that I am elect to eternal life.

" We

"We deſerve not everlaſting life, by our good works; for God hath promiſed it unto us, before we began to do good (*q*)." Yet Mr. Tyndal zealouſly aſſerted the neceſſity of good works, as fruits and proofs of faith; though, with Scripture, he utterly denied their being meritorious in the ſight of God: witneſs the following excellent paſſage: "If thy faith induce thee not to do good works, thou haſt not the right faith: thou only thinkeſt that thou haſt it. For St. James ſaith, that faith, without works, is dead in itſelf. He ſaith not, that it is little, or feeble; but that it is dead: and that which is dead, is not. Therefore, when thou art not moved by faith to the love of God, and, by the love of God, to good works, thou haſt no faith (*r*)." So true is it, on one hand, that real grace cannot but produce good works; and, on the other, that (as Tyndal obſerves) "if God had promiſed Heaven to us becauſe of our works, we could then never be ſure of our ſalvation: for we ſhould never know how much, nor how long, we ſhould labour, to be ſaved; and ſhould always be in fear that we had done too little, and ſo we could never die joyfully (*s*)."

Dr. Heylin ſhall contribute his mite, towards demonſtrating the Calviniſm of Tyndal: premiſing, firſt, that, in the judgment of the ſaid doctor, "There were ſo many heterodoxies in the moſt of Tyndal's writings, as render them no fit rule for a reformation, any more than thoſe of Wickliff before remembered." Some of theſe "many heterodoxies," Peter Heylin thus enumerates: "Grace," ſaith Tyndal, "is properly God's favour, benevolence, or kind mind; which, of his own ſelf, without our deſervings, he reached to us: whereby [i. e. by which undeſerved favour and benevolence] he was moved and inclined to give Chriſt unto us, with all other gifts of grace. Which having told us, in his Preface

(*q*) Fox, ibid. 507. (*r*) Ibid. (*s*) Ibid. 508.

to St. Paul's Epiſtle to the Romans; he telleth us, not long after, that, in the 9th, 10th, and 11th chapters of the epiſtle, the apoſtle teacheth us of God's predeſtination: from whence [i. e. from and out of God's predeſtination] it ſpringeth altogether; whether we ſhall believe, or not believe; be looſed from ſin, or not be looſed. By which predeſtination, our juſtifying and ſalvation are clear taken out of our hands, and put into the hands of God only: which thing is moſt neceſſary of all. For we are ſo weak, and ſo uncertain, that, if it ſtood in us, there would of truth no man be ſaved: the devil, no doubt, would deceive him. But now God is ſure of his predeſtination; neither can any man withſtand or lett him."

Diſcourſing, in another place, of the act the will hath on the underſtanding, [a blunder of Heylin's; who meant to ſay, of the act which the underſtanding hath on the will,] "He [Tyndal] telleth us, that the will of man followeth the wit [i. e. followeth the underſtanding:] that, as the wit erreth, ſo doth the will: and as the wit [the underſtanding] is in captivity, ſo is the will: neither is it poſſible that the will ſhould be free, when the wit is in bondage [through original ſin].

"Finally, in the heats of his diſputation with Sir Thomas More, who had ſaid, that 'Men were to 'endeavour themſelves, and captivate their under-'ſtandings, if they would believe,' Tyndal firſt cries out, how beetle-blind is fleſhly reaſon! and then ſubjoins, that the will hath no operation at all in the working of faith in my ſoul, no more than the child hath in begetting his father: for, ſaith Paul, It [i. e. faith] is the gift of God, and not of us (*t*)." Oh rare William Tyndal! "heterodox" with a witneſs!—The reader need not be told, that the Sir Thomas More, whoſe tenet of free-will was thus

(*t*) Heylin's Miſc. Tracts, p. 545.

combated

combated by Tyndal, was the ſame Sir Thomas, who was afterwards beheaded by Henry VIII. for exalting the pope's ſupremacy above the king's.

Arminianiſm will, beyond all queſtion, join hands with Popery, in condemning the above extracts: though nothing can be more certain than this great truth, that the principles, which they aſſert, are the very eſſence of the goſpel; and, if the Scriptures are true, muſt be reckoned in the number of its brighteſt and moſt valuable doctrines. I agree with the learned and pious Mr. Fox, that, "If theſe articles be made hereſies, which refer the benefit of our inheritance of life and ſalvation, to God's gift, and not to our labours; to grace, and not to merits; to faith, and not to the law of works; then let us clean ſhut up the New Teſtament, and away with God's word:" We have nothing to do, but to "leave Chriſt and his heretical goſpel; and, in his ſtead, ſet up the biſhop of Rome with his talmud, and become the diſciples of his decretals (*u*)."

VI. Mr. John Lambert received the academical part of his education in the Univerſity of Cambridge: where it pleaſed God to convert him by means of Mr. Bilney. His true name was Nicholſon: but his ſubſequent dangers on a religious account induced him to aſſume that of Lambert, for his greater ſecurity againſt the ſtorm that threatened (*x*). He was, however, burned in Smithfield, A. D. 1538; but with a fire ſo ill made (purpoſely to increaſe his pains), that his legs were conſumed, and he ſtill remained alive. Whereupon, two, who ſtood on each ſide of him, lifted him, on the points of their halberts, as high as the chain (which faſtened him to the ſtake) would reach: and he, lifting up ſuch hands as he had, his fingers ends flaming with fire, cried to the people, with an audible voice, "None

(*u*) Ibid. p. 507.
(*x*) Hiſt. of Popery, vol. ii. p. 417.

but Chriſt, 'none but Chriſt!' And ſo being ſet down again from their halberts, he fell again into the fire, and breathed out his faithful ſoul into the arms of his Redeemer (*y*)."

He had been chaplain to the Engliſh merchants at Antwerp. On an accuſation of hereſy, he was ſeized and conveyed to London. In the courſe of his examination before Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, he was aſked, "Doſt thou believe that whatſoever is done of man, whether it be good or ill, cometh of neceſſity (*z*)?" Mr Lambert eaſily perceived, that his being ſo cloſely queſtioned on the article of predeſtination, was no other than a trap laid for his life. His reply did equal honour to his prudence and faithfulneſs: "Unto the firſt part of your riddle, I neither can nor will give any definitive anſwer. Concerning the ſecond part, whether man hath free-will or no, to deſerve joy or pain? as for our deſerving of joy, in particular, I think it very little or none; even when we do the very commandments and law of God. When you have done all things that are commanded you, ſaith our Saviour, ſay that ye be unprofitable ſervants. When we have done his bidding, we ought not ſo to magnify neither our ſelf, nor our own free-will: but laud him with a meek heart, through whoſe benefit we have done (if at any time we do it) his liking and pleaſure. Hence Auſtin prayeth, *Domine, da quod jubes, et jube quod vis:* Lord, give what thou commandeſt, and command what thou wilt. Concerning free-will, I mean altogether as doth St. Auſtin: that, of ourſelves, we have no liberty nor ability to do the will of God; but are ſhut up and ſold under ſin, as both Iſaiah and Paul bear witneſs: but by the grace of God we are rid and ſet at liberty, according to the portion which every man" [i. e. every regenerate man] "hath received of the ſame; ſome more, ſome leſs (*a*)."

(*y*) Ibid, p. 419. (*z*) Fox. ii. 331. (*a*) Fox, ibid. 335.

Lambert

Lambert was alſo aſked, "Whether faith alone, without good works, may ſuffice to the ſalvation and juſtification of a man who has fallen into ſin after baptiſm (*b*)?" The martyr anſwered in the words of St. Auſtin, "*Opera bona non faciunt juſtum ſed juſtificatus facit bona opera:* The performance of good works does not juſtify a man, but the man who is juſtified performs good works (*c*)."

Lambert was (*d*) not ſentenced on his firſt examination. But, in a ſhort time, he was apprehended again, and appealed from the judgment of the biſhops, to the king. Henry VIII. gave him the hearing in perſon. The ſtern overbearing roughneſs, with which that ſour unfeeling tyrant treated the evangelical priſoner; and the decent firmneſs with which the latter acquitted himſelf, amidſt ſuch inſults as would either have quite intimidated, or violently exaſperated the generality of men; may be read in almoſt any of our hiſtorians. The reſult was, that Mr. Lambert received ſentence of death, and was executed in the manner above related (*e*).

VII. Mrs. Anne Aſcough, (commonly called Aſkew,) a moſt pious and accompliſhed young lady,

(*b*) Fox, ibid. 332. (*c*) Ibid. 350.

(*d*) Biſhop Burnet attributes Lambert's eſcape at this time, to the death of archbiſhop Warham, and to the change of counſels which that event, for a while, occaſioned.—Hiſt. of the Reform. vol. i. p. 241.

(*e*) In the year 1541, one Alexander Seton, preacher at St. Antholin's, brought himſelf into great danger for aſſerting the doctrines of grace. He was, at length, unhappily prevailed with to recant: and my reaſon, for making any mention of him, is, becauſe the doctrines, for which he had like to have loſt his life, demonſtrate, among a multiplicity of other inſtances, how high the Proteſtant tide ever ran in favour of Calviniſm. Mr. Fox obſerves, (ii. 452.) that "the greateſt matter alledged againſt Seton, was, for preaching free juſtification by faith in Chriſt, and againſt man's free-will, and againſt falſe confidence in good works." The ſubſtance of his principles may be read in Fox, (u. ſ. p. 451.) and are well worthy of peruſal, notwithſtanding the man himſelf made afterwards a verbal retraction of them. Gold is gold, let who will fling it away.

of whom the world was not worthy, adorns the Proteſtant calendar. Her underſtanding only was maſculine, not her manners. The diamond was ſet in gold. The virtues of her heart added value to a genius originally bright, and ſolidly improved. Both were ſanctified and ennobled by the grace of God. Hence, her piety was angelic; her meekneſs, invincible; her fortitude, ſupernatural. "She might have lived," ſays Mr. Fox, "in great wealth and proſperity, if ſhe would have followed the world rather than Chriſt (*f*)." Her family and connections were of conſiderable rank (*g*): and, unleſs I am much miſtaken, ſhe herſelf ſeemed to have poſſeſſed at one time, ſome poſt of honour in the court of queen Catharine Parr. For the wit, delicacy, and good ſenſe, with which ſhe embarraſſed the lord mayor of London, biſhop Bonner, biſhop Gardiner, and others, in the courſe of her examinations, the reader may conſult Strype, Fox, and Burnet. She had been ſo inhumanly racked, during her impriſonment, that ſhe loſt the uſe of her limbs, and was forced to be conveyed to Smithfield in a chair. Three perſons of the other ſex ſuffered martyrdom at the ſame time; and were not a little ſtrengthened in the laſt ſtage of their warfare, by the example, prayers, and exhortations of this excellent woman: who, notwithſtanding, was ſo weakened and diſabled by the brutal hardſhips of her confinement, that two ſerjeants were obliged to ſupport her at the ſtake, till the faggots were kindled. Amidſt all theſe outward infirmities, her heaven-born ſoul continued triumphant and alert. She was filled with joy unſpeakable and full of glory. Her faculties were ſo entire, and her preſence of mind ſo extraordinary, that, as ſhe ſtood at the ſtake, ſhe frequently corrected Shaxton, while he was preaching the execution-ſermon, when he advanced any thing con-

(*f*) Acts and Mon. ii. 489.
(*g*) See Strype's Eccles. Memorials, vol. i. p. 387.

trary

trary to the doctrines of Scripture. Sermon being ended, (which was preached in the open air,) the lord chancellor Wriothesley offered the King's pardon to the four martyrs, as they stood at their respective stakes, on condition of recantation. They all nobly refused. Not one of them would so much as look at the papers when held out to them. Mrs. Ascough, in particular, answered, "I did not come hither to deny my Lord and Master." The lord mayor then gave the word of command, *fiat justitia:* and the flames were immediately kindled. Thus these blessed martyrs ascended in chariots of fire to Heaven. The spot whereon they were executed, was that open part of Smithfield, which lies over against the gate that leads to St. Bartholomew's church. Mrs. Ascough was not 25 years of age (*b*).

That

(*b*) In the History of Popery, vol. ii. p. 464, a piece of spiritual Poetry is preserved, which was written and sung by Mrs. Ascough, while she lay under sentence of death in Newgate. Considering it as the production of a Lady, whose constitution was quite broken with sufferings; and not forgetting, that it was composed above two hundred and twenty years ago, (viz. A. D. 1546.) it will reflect the reverse of dishonour on the amiable authoress, to insert it here.

LIKE as the armed knight,
appointed to the field,
with this world will I fight,
and faith shall be my shield.
Faith is that weapon strong,
which will not fail at need:
My foes therefore among
therewith I will proceed.
As it had in strength
and force of Christ his way,
It will prevail at length,
tho' all the Devils say nay.
Faith in the fathers old
obtained righteousness:
which maketh me so bold
to fear no world's distress.
I now rejoice in heart,
and hope bids me do so:
for Christ will take my part,
and ease me of my woe.
Thou sayst, Lord, whoso knock,
to them wilt thou attend:
Undo therefore the lock,
and thy strong pow'r down send.
More enemies I have,
than hairs to crown my head,
Let them not me deprave,
but fight thou in my stead.
On thee my care I cast,
for all their cruel spight:
I set not by their haste,
for thou art my delight.
I am not she that list
my anchor to let fall
for every drizzling mist:
my ship's substantial.

Not

That ſhe believed the doctrines of grace, and experienced their power in her own heart, is evident, from the drift, both of the few writings ſhe left behind her, and of her religious behaviour in general. I ſhall, particularly, inſtance this, in the article of final perſeverance. In an account of her ſufferings, written by herſelf, after obſerving that the lord chancellor Wriotheſley aſſiſted in torturing her on the rack, with his own hands, till ſhe was almoſt dead; and that, after ſhe was taken off from the rack, ſhe ſat for near two hours on the bare floor, diſputing with the lord chancellor, who vehemently importuned her to renounce the faith: ſhe adds, "But my Lord God, I thank his everlaſting goodneſs, gave me grace to perſevere; and will do, I hope, to the very end." [Fox, ii. 488,] What, under the preſſure of thoſe languiſhing circumſtances, ſhe only expreſſed an hope of; ſhe ſhortly after, expreſſed her full aſſurance of: "I doubt not," ſaid ſhe, "but God will perform his work in me, like as he hath begun." [Ibid.] I deſire no ſtronger proof of her Calviniſm. Whoſoever "doubts not," that the work of grace is of God's beginning, and ſhall be of God's completing; muſt either adopt ſuch incoherencies, as would diſgrace the meaneſt underſtanding, or be clear in thoſe other articles of the goſpel with which theſe are ſo intimately and neceſſarily connected.

VIII. I muſt not forget the eminently learned Doctor Robert Barnes: of whoſe converſion, pious

Not oft uſe I to write,
in proſe, nor yet in rhyme:
Yet will I ſhew one ſight,
which I ſaw in my time.
I ſaw a royal throne,
where juſtice ſhould have ſit;
but in her ſtead was one
of moody cruel wit.
Abſorb'd was righteouſneſs,
as by a raging flood:
Satan in fierce exceſs
Suck'd up the guiltleſs blood.
Then thought I—Jeſu, Lord,
when thou ſhalt judge us all,
hard is it to record
on theſe men what will fall.
Yet, Lord, I thee deſire,
for what they do to mee
Let them not taſte the hire
Of their iniquitee.

Mr.

Mr. Bilny had been the inſtrument. Lord Cromwell's fall (who was beheaded July 28, 1540.) ſeems to have involved in it the doom of this illuſtrious Proteſtant, who was burned for the goſpel on the 30th of the ſame month.

Heylin's Arminian pen ſhall, for the preſent, ſuffice to prove the Calviniſm of Dr. Barns.

"It is no marvel," ſays that virulent Polemiſt, "if we find ſomewhat in his [i. e. in Barns's] writings, agreeable to the palate of the Calviniſts and rigid Lutherans. From whence it is, that, laying down the doctrine of predeſtination, he [i. e. Dr. Barns] diſcourſeth thus: But yet, ſayeſt thou, that he [God] giveth to the one, mercy; and, to the other, none. I anſwer, what is that to thee? Is not his mercy his own? Is it not lawful for him to give it to whom he will? Is thine eye evil, becauſe his is good? Take that which is thine, and go thy way. For, if he will ſhew his wrath, and make his power known, over the veſſels of wrath ordained to damnation; and to declare the riches of his glory, unto the veſſels of mercy, which he hath prepared and elected unto glory; what haſt thou therewith to do?—But here will ſubtil blindneſs ſay, 'God ſaw before, that Jacob ſhould do good: he ſaw alſo that Eſau ſhould do evil; therefore did he condemn him.' Alas, for blindneſs! what? will you judge of that which God foreſaw? Theſe children being yet unborn, they had done neither good nor bad: and yet one of them is choſen, and the other of them is refuſed. St. Paul knoweth no other cauſe, but the will of God: and will you needs diſcuſs another? He ſaith not, I will have mercy on him who I ſee ſhall do good; but, I will ſhew mercy to whom I will.

"God, of his infinite power, lets nothing be exempted from him, but all things to be ſubject unto his action: and nothing can be done by them, but by his principal motion. So that he worketh in all manner

manner of things, that be either good or bad: not changing their nature," [i. e. God is not the author of ſin, as though he changed any thing to bad from good,] " but only moving them to work after their natures, ſo that good worketh good, and evil worketh evil: and God uſeth them both as inſtruments. And yet doth he nothing evil, but evil is done alone through the will of man; God working by him, but not evil, as by an inſtrument (*i*)." Old father Heylin, who cites theſe judicious paſſages, is not very well pleaſed with them. He is particularly diſguſted with, what he calls, the Subtlety in the Cloſe thereof: and, becauſe he cannot diſtil the leaſt drop of Arminianiſm from theſe flowers of paradiſe, he ſagely concludes, that Barns draws nearer to " the Zuinglians, touching God's working on the will, than poſſibly may be capable of a good [i. e. of an Arminian] conſtruction."

Will the reader permit me to ſubjoin the teſtimony of two worthy perſons, who ſuffered for the goſpel in Scotland, prior to the Reformation? I am ſenſible, that their ſuffrage does not ſtrictly pertain to the argument of the preſent Section. It is not, however, entirely foreign to it; as martyrs, of all nations, are brethren; and as it will conduce to demonſtrate, that the firſt Proteſtants of that country, no leſs than of our own, were companions in faith as well as in patience.

I. Mr. Patrick Hamelton, was a perſon of very illuſtrious deſcent; nearly related, both by father's and mother's ſide, to James V. the then reigning king of Scotland (*k*). Early in life, he was made Abbot of Ferme; and his ſubſequent preferments would have been very great, had not God opened his eyes, to ſee the Antichriſtianiſm of Popery. Making the tour of Germany, he became acquaint-

(*i*) Barns, as quoted by Heylin in his Miſcel. Tr. p. 544, 545.
(*k*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reform. vol. i. p. 291.

ed

ed with Luther and other learned Proteſtants; whoſe converſation was bleſſed to the converſion of this excellent man. On his return to his own country, he was very aſſiduous in communicating to others the ſpiritual light he had received. His ſermons were animated with great zeal againſt the doctrinal corruptions which then prevailed; and his labours were crowned with ſuch ſucceſs, as alarmed the ruling eccleſiaſtics; who, from that time forward, marked him for the ſhambles. Being cited to anſwer before James Beton, archbiſhop of St. Andrews; ſuch was the martyr's couragious zeal, that he made his appearance early in the morning, ſome hours before the time appointed. The prelate, and his conſiſtory biſhops and abbots, being totally unable to reſiſt the wiſdom and ſpirit with which he aſſerted the doctrines of Chriſt, realized the old Popiſh argument, "you have the word, but we have the ſword," by condemning him on the ſpot: and, in ſuch haſte were they to diſpatch him, that he was burned the ſame afternoon, which was either the laſt day of February, or the firſt of March, 1527. "Learned men," ſays Mr. Fox, "who communed and reaſoned with him, do teſtify, that the following are the very articles for which he ſuffered:

"1. Man hath no free-will.

"2. A man is only juſtified by faith in Chriſt.

"3. A man, ſo long as he liveth, is not without ſin.

"4. He is not worthy to be called a Chriſtian, who doth not believe that he is in grace.

"5. A good man doth good works: good works do not make a good man.

"6. An evil man bringeth forth evil works: evil works being faithfully repented, do not make an evil man.

"7. Faith, hope, and charity, be ſo linked together, that one of them cannot be without another, in one man, in this life (*l*)."

(*l*) Fox's Acts and Mon. ii. 183.

In

In exact conformity with the above articles, part of the ſentence of condemnation, pronounced on him immediately after his trial, ran thus: "We, James, by the mercy of God, archbiſhop of St. Andrews, primate of Scotland;—have found Maſter Patrick Hamelton many ways infamed with hereſy; diſputing, holding, and maintaining divers hereſies of Martin Luther and his followers, repugnant to our faith:—that man hath no free-will; that man is in ſin ſo long as he liveth; that children, incontinent after baptiſm, are ſinners; that all Chriſtians, who be worthy to be called Chriſtians, do know that they are in grace; that no man is juſtified by works, but by faith only; that good works make not a good man, but a good man doth make good works; that faith, hope, and charity, are ſo knit, that he, who hath one, hath the reſt.—With divers other hereſies and deteſtable opinions; and hath perſiſted ſo obſtinate in the ſame, that, by no counſel nor perſuaſion, he may be drawn therefrom to the way of our right faith.—All theſe premiſes being conſidered, We—do pronounce, &c (*m*)."

This great and holy martyr, who was executed in the 23d year of his age, drew up a ſhort ſketch of Evangelical Divinity, which was afterwards publiſhed, with a recommendatory preface, by an eminent martyr of our own country, the learned and pious Mr. John Frith (*n*), who ſuffered death, at London, in

(*m*) Fox, ibid.

(*n*) This Mr. Frith merits a diſtinct article to himſelf, in the preſent eſſay. But I am forced to omit both him and a multitude of others: elſe, my Octavo would ſwell to a Folio. I find myſelf obliged to be ſuperficial, in order to be tolerably conciſe. Yet let me juſt obſerve, that Mr. Frith might vie with Calvin, or with Zuinglius, or even with Luther himſelf, as a predeſtinarian. Heylin affirms, that, in this reſpect, Frith ſoared higher than even Mr. Tyndal's penetrating ſight could follow: and yet, as I have ſhewn in this very Section, Tyndal looked as far into predeſtination, as moſt men ever did. But, it ſeems, Frith could contemplate the glorious luſtre of that Sun, with a ſtill more acute and leſs dazzled eye. No wonder, therefore,

in 1533. The whole of this conciſe treatiſe is inſerted into Mr. Fox's ineſtimable Martyrology. An extract from it will, I hope, both pleaſe and profit the reader.

Mr. Hamelton well knew, that half of our religious miſtakes ariſe from not clearly aſcertaining the difference between the law and the goſpel, and from not exactly diſtinguiſhing the true nature of each. This he does, with great judgment and accuracy, in the following remarks.

" The law ſaith, pay thy debt. [viz. the debt of perfect obedience to God]. The goſpel ſaith, Chriſt hath paid it.

" The law ſaith, thou art a ſinner; deſpair, and thou ſhalt be damned. The goſpel ſaith, thy ſins are forgiven thee, be of good comfort, for thou ſhalt be ſaved.

" The law ſaith, make amends for thy ſins. The goſpel ſaith, Chriſt hath made it for thee.

" The law ſaith, the Father of Heaven is angry with thee. The goſpel ſaith, Chriſt hath pacified him with his blood.

" The law ſaith, where is thy righteouſneſs, goodneſs, ſatisfaction? The goſpel ſaith, Chriſt is thy righteouſneſs, goodneſs, and ſatisfaction.

" The law ſaith, thou art bound [over] to me, to the Devil, and to Hell. The goſpel ſaith, Chriſt hath delivered thee from them all."

On the ſubject of faith, he obſerves, that this important term ſignifies, " To believe in Chriſt, and to believe his word, and to believe that he will help thee in all thy need, and deliver thee from all evil." He affirms, that " Faith is the gift of God," which he thus proves:

" Every good thing is the gift of God.
" Faith is good.
" *Ergò*, faith is the gift of God."

fore, that Heylin ſhould ſtare with affrightment, at what he terms " Frith's high-flying conceits of predeſtination." See Heylin's Miſc. Tr. p. 544 and 547.

Nor

Nor does he ſtop here; but immediately adds this conſecutory propoſition: "Faith is not in our power." Which he likewiſe argues ſyllogiſtically;

"The gift of God is not in our power.

"Faith is the gift of God.

"Therefore, faith is not in our power."

On the doctrine of works, he expreſſes himſelf with great perſpicuity and ſtrength of reaſon. "No man," ſays he, "is juſtified by the deeds of the law, but by the faith of Jeſus Chriſt. Moreover, ſince Chriſt, the Maker of Heaven and Earth and all that is therein, behoved to die for us; we are compelled to grant, that we were ſo far drowned and ſunk in ſin, that neither our deeds, nor all the treaſures that ever God made or might make, could have holpen us out of it. Therefore, no deeds or works [of our own performing] may make us righteous." He then obviates an objection, which, he foreſaw, either the ignorance or the perverſeneſs of ſome might poſſibly alledge: "If works make us neither righteous nor unrighteous, then (thou wilt ſay) it is no matter what we do. I anſwer: If thou do evil, it is a ſure argument that thou art evil, and wanteſt faith. If thou do good, it is an argument that thou art good, and haſt faith; for a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit. Yet good fruit makes not the tree good, nor evil fruit the tree evil. A man is good, ere he do good deeds; and evil, ere he do evil deeds.

"Whoſoever believeth or thinketh to be ſaved by his works, denieth that Chriſt is his Saviour. For how is he thy Saviour, if thou mighteſt ſave thyſelf by thy works? or whereto ſhould he die for thee, if any works [of thine] might have ſaved thee?—What is this, to ſay Chriſt died for thee? Verily, that thou ſhouldeſt [elſe] have died perpetually; and that Chriſt, to deliver thee from death, died for thee, and changed thy perpetual death into his own death. For thou madeſt the fault, and he ſuffered the pain: and

and that for the love he had to thee before thou waſt born, when thou hadſt done neither good nor evil. Now, ſeeing he hath paid thy debt, thou needeſt not, neither canſt thou pay it; but ſhouldſt be damned, if his blood were not [ſhed]. But, ſince he was puniſhed for thee, thou ſhalt not be puniſhed.

"I do not ſay, that we ought to do no good deeds: but I ſay, we ſhould do no good works to the intent to get the inheritance of Heaven, or remiſſion of ſin. For if we believe to get the inheritance of Heaven through good works, then we believe not to get it through the promiſe of God. Or if we think to get remiſſion of our ſins by our deeds, then we believe not that they are forgiven us; and ſo we count God a liar. For God ſaith, Thou ſhalt have the inheritance of Heaven, for my Son's ſake; thy ſins are forgiven thee, for my Son's ſake: and you ſay, it is not ſo, but I will win it through my works.

"Thus, you ſee, I condemn not good deeds, but I condemn the falſe truſt in any works: for, all the works, wherein a man putteth any confidence, are therewith poiſoned, and become evil.

"Wherefore, thou muſt do good works; but beware that thou do them not [with a view] to deſerve any good through them; for, if thou do, thou receiveſt the good, not as gifts of God, but as debt to thee, and makeſt thyſelf fellow with God, becauſe thou wilt take nothing of him for nought. And ſo ſhalt thou fall, as Lucifer fell for his pride."

Is it not aſtoniſhing, that ſo young a man, a native and inhabitant of Scotland, ſhould write with ſuch preciſion, and in ſo maſterly a ſtyle, almoſt two hundred and fifty years ago?

II. No perſon who knows any thing of the Scottiſh hiſtory, can be entirely unacquainted with the character and ſufferings of the famous and venerable Mr: George Wiſhart, who was burned at St. Andrews, A. D. 1545. His remarkable hiſtory, and the ſpirit of prophecy with which he more than

once proved himſelf to be endued, are ſo well known, that I ſhall enter (*o*) directly on the evidence of his Calviniſm.

On his examination, before the cardinal archbiſhop of St. Andrews, he was accuſed of repreſenting God as the author of ſin. "Thou, falſe heretic, ſaideſt, that man hath no free-will, but is like to the Stoics, who ſay, that it is not in man's will to do any thing; but that all concupiſcence and deſire cometh by God, whatſoever kind it be of (*p*)." Mr. Wiſhart in his anſwer, utterly denied that the doctrine of ſalvation by grace is pregnant with ſo blaſphemous a conſe-

(*o*) The deſcription of Mr. Wiſhart's perſon, dreſs, and demeanor, drawn by one who had been his pupil at Cambridge (for Mr. Wiſhart received his education, and ſpent ſome years, in that univerſity), preſents us with an artleſs, but lively, picture of antique ſimplicity, too ſingular to be overlooked. "He was a man of tall ſtature, pold-headed, and on the ſame a round French cap of the beſt: judged to be of a melancholy complexion, by his phyſiognomy. Black-haired, long-bearded, comely of perſonage, well ſpoken after his country of Scotland, courteous, lowly, lovely, glad to teach, deſirous to learn, and was well travelled. Having on him, for his habit, or clothing, never but a mantle, or frieze gown to the ſhoes; a black millian fuſtian doublet; plain black hoſen; coarſe new canvaſs for his ſhirts; and white falling bands, and cuffs at his hands. All the which apparel he gave to the poor; ſome weekly, ſome monthly, ſome quarterly, as he liked: ſaving his French cap, which he kept the whole year of my being with him. He was modeſt, temperate, fearing God, and hating covetouſneſs: for his charity had never end, night, noon, nor day. He forebore one meal in three, one day in four, for the moſt part; except ſomething to comfort nature. He lay hard, upon a puff of ſtraw; and coarſe new canvaſs ſheets, which, when he changed, he gave away. He had commonly by his bed-ſide, a tub of water: in the which (his people being in bed, the candle put out, and all quiet), as I being very young, being aſſured, often heard him; and, in one light night, diſcerned him. He taught with great modeſty and gravity; ſo that ſome of his people thought him ſevere, and would have ſlain him: but the Lord was his defence. And he, after due correction for their malice, by good exhortation amended them, and went his way. His learning was no leſs ſufficient, than his deſire: always preſt and ready to do good in that he was able, both in the houſe privately, and in the ſchool publickly; profeſſing and reading divers authors." See Fox, vol. ii. p. 521.

(*p*) Ibid. 524.

quence

quence: "My lords, I ſaid not ſo. I ſay, that as many as believe in Chriſt firmly, unto them is given liberty; conformably to the ſaying in St. John, If the Son make you free, then ſhall ye verily be free. On the contrary, as many as believe not in Chriſt Jeſus, they are bond-ſervants of ſin. He, that ſinneth, is bound to ſin (*q*)." What is this, but to ſay? 1. That man's will is not free to good, until after he is converted to the faith of Chriſt. 2. That, prior to converſion, and in a ſtate of nature, man cannot but offend God. 3. That man can only be made free indeed, by the grace of Chriſt, breathing faith into his heart.—If this be not Calviniſm, I am at a loſs to know what is.

A clauſe, occurring in one of Mr. Wiſhart's laſt ſupplications to God, ſhall conclude this Section: "We deſire thee heartily, that thou conſerve, defend, and help thy congregation which thou haſt choſen before the beginning of the world; and give them thy grace, to hear thy word, and to be thy true ſervants in this preſent life (*r*)."

SECTION XIII.

The Judgment of our Engliſh Reformers.

VERY little need be ſaid, to prove the Calviniſm of thoſe illuminated divines, who were made, by Providence, the inſtruments of extending and fixing the Engliſh Reformation. The whole ſeries of our public ſervice, the uniform tenor of our articles, and the chain of doctrine aſſerted in each Book of Homilies, are a ſtanding demonſtration, that the original framers and compilers believed in, and worſhipped, the God of their fathers, after that way which Papiſts and Arminians term hereſy.

(*q*) Ibid. 524. (*r*) Ibid. 525.

Even Mr. Sellon does not, in his 7th page, ſo much as attempt to call in queſtion the Calviniſm of our reformers. Finding himſelf hard drove, he fairly gives up the point: exclaiming, however, at the ſame time, that the reformers brought their Calviniſm with them from the church of Rome. "Let me tell you," ſays the angry conceder, "that our firſt reformers, in the point of predeſtination, did ſay over thoſe leſſons which they had learned in the Roman ſchools." I agree with my adverſary, in acknowledging, that the reformers were predeſtinarians; but I pity his weakneſs in venturing to aſſert, on the lame authority of Chriſtopher Potter, that thoſe excellent men imported their doctrine of predeſtination from Rome. I have already ſhewn, that it has, for ages and ages back, been the ruling endeavour of Popery to ſtifle, demoliſh, and exterminate, the whole ſyſtem of Calviniſm, both root and branch. You might as reaſonably affirm, that the glory, which beamed from the face of Moſes, was kindled at Hell-fire; as inſinuate, that we are indebted to Rome for any of our Thirty-nine Articles.—Mr. Sellon's conceſſion, however, induces me to offer him a plain query. To what end have you ſcribbled a libel, with a profeſſed view to Arminianize the Liturgy, Articles, and Homilies, which you yourſelf acknowledge to have been compoſed by Calviniſtic divines? Can any man in his ſenſes, really believe, that a ſet of predeſtinarians would draw up a plan of national faith and worſhip on the Arminian model? Impoſſible. Your quotation, therefore, from Chriſtopher Potter, which you have adopted for your own, has ſtabbed the whole hypotheſis of your pamphlet to the very heart.

In vain do Meſſieurs Weſley and Sellon diſconſolately walk arm in arm, round about our eſtabliſhed Zion, ſurveying her walls, and ſhaking their heads at her bulwarks; but unable either to find, or to make a breach, whereat to enter. Happy would they deem

them-

themſelves, could they prove that the reformers were Arminians. But, alas! the church of England was ſettled under King Edward VI. long before Arminius himſelf was born; and afterwards reſettled by Elizabeth, when the ſame Arminius was an infant in his cradle. Pelagians were (if I may ſo phraſe it) the Arminians of thoſe times: and Pelagians are, expreſsly and by name, branded for "vain talkers," in the ninth article. It clearly follows, 1. That the original compilers of the articles were not Pelagians. And, 2. That they could not be Arminians: for Arminius was then unborn and unbegotten (*s*).

Biſhop Burnet himſelf, as I have elſewhere obſerved, was compelled to grant, That, "In England, the firſt Reformers were generally Sub-lapſarians (*t*):" tacitly admitting, that the reſt of thoſe apoſtolic men were (dreadful news to Mr. Sellon!) Supra-lapſarians (*u*). I could corroborate this aſſertion, if need required, from other very plain and concluſive paſſages, ſcattered through Burnet's hiſtoric writings. Waving, however, at preſent, the farther teſtimonies of that prelate; I ſhall adduce the atteſtations of two more modern hiſtorians: neither of whom can incur the remoteſt ſuſpicion of leaning toward Calviniſm. Theſe are, Mr. Tindal, the reverend continuator of rapine; and David Hume, eſq; whoſe hiſtory, conſidered merely as a compo-

(*s*) He was born at Oudewater, in 1560.

(*t*) Expoſ. of the 17th Article.

(*u*) The Supra-lapſarians ſuppoſe, that, in the decree of election and preterition, God did not conſider mankind either as fallen or unfallen; but chuſe ſome, and rejected others, conſidered merely as beings that ſhould infallibly exiſt.—The Sub-lapſarians ſuppoſe, that the elect were choſen, and the reprobate paſſed by, not merely as creatures; but, complexly, as ſinners. Each hypotheſis has been adopted by ſome of the beſt and greateſt men that ever lived. Calviniſm is the general name, under which, the partizans of both are comprehended. The church of England ſyſtem, as I ſhall ſhew hereafter, is, ſtrictly ſpeaking, formed on the Sub-lapſarian principle: though with ſuch moderation, as not to exclude the former.

ſition, does honour to the author and the age. I begin with the former.

"In England, a middle courſe was ſteered:" [i. e. we admitted the doctrines, but rejected the diſcipline, of Geneva]. "Though the articles of religion are a plain tranſcript of St. Auſtin's doctrine, in the controverted points of original ſin, predeſtination, juſtification by faith alone, efficacy of grace, and good works; yet are they compoſed with ſuch a latitude." No quibbling, good Mr. Tindal. If the articles of the Church of England, reſpecting thoſe tenets, are "a plain tranſcript of St. Auſtin's doctrine;" it irreſiſtibly follows, that they only, who believe as St. Auſtin did, can honeſtly ſubſcribe to Auſtin's articles. For, of what value is a fence, whoſe chaſms and apertures are of "ſuch a latitude," as to admit the very perſons, whom it was profeſſedly planted to exclude? To imagine, that the reformers, who had, themſelves, gone ſo heartily and ſtrongly into the doctrines above-mentioned; and who, moreover, digeſted thoſe doctrines into a national creed, to continue as the ſtanding teſt of miniſterial orthodoxy; to imagine that theſe identical reformers would leave ſuch loop-holes of evaſion, as would counter-act the very deſign of that teſt, and render the teſt itſelf null and void; is equivalent to ſuppoſing, that a man would firſt fortify the door of his houſe with as many bolts and bars as he can, and then purpoſely leave his door on the latch, that every intruder, who pleaſes, may enter in.

Mr. Tindal proceeds. "The moſt rigid Calviniſt can give his aſſent to all the thirty-nine articles, except three, which relate to the diſcipline of the Church." Thirty-ſix, then, out of the thirty-nine, are moſt rigidly Calviniſtic: elſe, the moſt rigid Calviniſt could not "give his aſſent to all the articles except three." And even thoſe three may be both aſſented and ſubſcribed to, with full purpoſe of heart, by every man who

is a Calviniſt in matters of doctrine only.—"For though the doctrine of the Church of England, as it ſtands in the articles and homilies, agrees with that of the Calviniſts; yet the diſcipline is entirely different." I grant that the diſcipline of our Church is "entirely different" from that mode of diſcipline embraced by ſome Calviniſts: and may it ever continue ſo. In nothing did the wiſdom of our reformers more ſtrikingly appear, than in connecting the pureſt doctrines with the beſt form of eccleſiaſtical government and diſcipline. A ſpecies of diſcretion, in which the foreign leaders of the reformation were not ſo happy.—Now, on weighing the collected amount of Mr. Tindal's (*x*) teſtimony, I would ſubmit this natural queſtion to the reader: Would the

(*x*) The paſſages, here cited from that writer, occur in the third volume of his Continuation (octav. 1758) p. 275.—I cannot paſs over, without a moment's animadverſion, what this hiſtorian imprudently advances, reſpecting the liturgy of the Church of England. "The liturgy," ſays he, p. 276, "or Common Prayers, were chiefly taken from the offices of the Church of Rome."—This, I well know, is a pretty general opinion. But I cannot help believing it to be unjuſtly founded. The agreement, between ſome parts of our public ſervice, and ſome parts of the Romiſh miſſals, falls extremely ſhort of proving the main point. We uſe the Lord's Prayer (for example) in common with the Papiſts: yet we receive it, not from Rome, but from the New Teſtament. A pen, not altogether contemptible, affirms, that the compilers of the liturgy examined not only the Popiſh forms, but likewiſe "all other ſervice books then in uſe. Theſe they compared with the primitive liturgies: and whatever they found in them conſonant to the Holy Scriptures, and the doctrine and worſhip of the primitive Church, they retained and improved; but the modern corruptions and ſuperſtitious innovations of latter ages, they entirely diſcharged and rejected." See Downes's Lives of the Compilers, p. 150. What I ſhall farther add, I give from an authority incomparably more deciſive and reſpectable.—"Our Church of England," ſays biſhop Stillingfleet, "hath omitted none of thoſe offices wherein all the ancient Churches were agreed: and where the [primitive] Britiſh or Gallican [Church] differed from the Roman, our [preſent] Church hath not followed the Roman, but the other. And therefore our Diſſenters do unreaſonably charge us with taking our offices from the Church of Rome." Stillingfleet's *Origines Britannicæ*, chap. 4. p. 237.—The Gallican

the Engliſh reformers have eſtabliſhed a ſummary of doctrines "agreeable to that of the Calviniſts," if the ſaid reformers had not been Calviniſts themſelves? To ſolve this enquiry, we need only propoſe another: would ſuch men (for inſtance) as Pelagius and Arminius, have drawn up ſuch articles, in particular, as the 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th?

Let us next attend to the florid and ingenious Mr. Hume. "The firſt reformers in England, as in other European countries, had embraced the moſt rigid tenets of predeſtination and abſolute decrees: and had compoſed upon that ſyſtem, all the articles of their religious creed. But theſe principles having met with oppoſition," [viz. about ſixty years after], from Arminius and his ſectaries, the controverſy was ſoon" [i. e. ſoon after the riſe of Arminianiſm in the Dutch provinces, at the period aforeſaid] "brought into this iſland, and began here to diffuſe itſelf (*y*)." Again: "All the firſt reformers adopted theſe principles," viz. the principles of "Abſolute decrees (*z*)." No wonder, therefore, when the Arminians ſtarted up to oppoſe the ancient faith, that, "Throughout the nation, they laid under the reproach of innovation and hereſy. Their protectors were ſtigmatized; their tenets canvaſſed; their views repreſented as dangerous and pernicious (*a*)."

Hitherto, we have dealt in generals. We ſhall now (though ſo plain a caſe is far from requiring it) deſcend, briefly, to particulars.

liturgy (extremely different from the Roman) was introduced, it ſeems, into England, in the beginning of the fifth century; and is ſaid to have been originally framed by Polycarp and Irenæus. The learned biſhop gives a large account of this ancient form of worſhip; proves it to have been the baſis of that now eſtabliſhed; and points out a great variety of particulars, in which it differed from the form impoſed by the Roman biſhops. See ibid. from p. 216 to p. 237. —Edit. 1685.

(*y*) Hume's Hiſt. of Engl. vol. vi. p. 211.—Octav. edit. 1767.

(*z*) Ibid. vol. v. p. 572.

(*a*) Ibid. vol. vi. p. 211.

Thoſe

Thoſe divines, to whom, under God, this kingdom is chiefly indebted for its reformation from Popery, were Wickliff, who laid the baſis; and Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, Martin Bucer, and Peter Martyr. Though the two latter were foreigners, yet, as they greatly aſſiſted in that important work, they deſervedly ſtand high on the liſt of Engliſh reformers, Wickliff's Calviniſm has been already proved. I proceed, therefore, to the reſt.

I. Dr. Thomas Cranmer, archbiſhop of Canterbury, went as far as he could, or at leaſt as far as he dared, in promoting the Proteſtant cauſe, during the laſt boiſterous years of Henry VIII. For ſome time after his elevation to the primacy, he was far from poſſeſſing that ſtrong evangelical light, which he afterwards attained. God led him from ſtep to ſtep. He advanced rather ſlowly, but ſolidly and ſurely. He was not (for inſtance) clear, even as to the manner of Chriſt's preſence in the Euchariſt, until after the year 1538 (*b*). But the path of the juſt is a light that ſhines more and more to the perfect day. His knowledge of divine things was abundantly brighter, when Edward VI. aſcended the throne in 1547. The famous catechiſm, aſcribed to biſhop Ponet, and of which I have elſewhere (*c*) given an account, received the ſanction of

(*b*) "The archbiſhop was not yet convinced of the falſhood of tranſubſtantiation, but continued a ſtiff maintainer of the corporal preſence; as appears from his being unhappily concerned in the proſecution of Lambert, who was burnt, Nov. 20, 1538." Downes, *ubi ſupra*, p. 13.

(*c*) In my pamphlet, entitled, The Church of England Vindicated, &c.—Dr. John Ponet was tranſlated, from Rocheſter to Wincheſter, in 1550. According to Godwin, he was one of the moſt learned perſons of the age. "*Græcam linguam callebat ad amuſſim, mathematicarum porrò ſcientiarum ad miraculum uſque peritus:*" i. e. a moſt maſterly Grecian, and a prodigy for his ſkill in mathematics. He excelled alſo in the mechanic part of philoſophy; witneſs the curious clock, which he conſtructed for the uſe of Henry VIII.

of Cranmer's own ſubſcription. We muſt, therefore, admit, either that Cranmer was as abſolute a predeſtinarian as Calvin himſelf; or charge the venerable archbiſhop with ſuch extreme diſſimulation and hypocriſy, as are utterly incompatible with common honeſty. For, this catechiſm (as I have ſhewn in my tract referred to below) aſſerted the doctrines of predeſtination, efficacious grace, free juſtification, and final perſeverance, in the fulleſt, ſtrongeſt, and moſt explicit terms: and, if ſolemn ſubſcription to ſo ſtrict a teſt be not a ſufficient proof of a man's real belief, all integrity and ſocial confidence are at an end. That Cranmer actually did ſet his hand to it, appears from the unexceptionable teſtimony of his brother-biſhop and brother-martyr, Dr. Ridley.

"A catechiſm," ſays Mr. Strype, "for the inſtruction of children in the fundamentals of true religion, paſſed the ſame ſynod [viz. the ſynod of 1552]: but who was the author, was not known in thoſe days. Biſhop Ridley was charged to be the author and publiſher thereof, by Ward and Weſton, in the diſputation with him [held, in the ſucceeding reign of Mary, prior to his martyrdom] at Oxford. Ridley declared, he was not: but confeſſed, that he ſaw the book, peruſed it after it was made, and noted many things for it; and ſo conſented to the book. Weſton then told Ridley, that he [viz. Ridley], being then a biſhop in his ruff, had made him [i. e. had made Weſton] ſubſcribe it. But Ridley replied, he [had] compelled no man to ſubſcribe: indeed, he [himſelf] had ſet his hand to it,

VIII. It not only pointed to the hours, and to the day of the month; but ſhewed the lunar variations, together with the ebbing and flowing of the ſea. While Edward VI. lived (who had loved him from his earlieſt childhood, and had reaped much benefit from his ſermons) the good biſhop enjoyed an uninterrupted ſeries of honours and repoſe. But on the acceſſion of Mary, he retired to Germany, where he died at Straſburgh, Auguſt 11, 1556, aged only 40 years. Vide Godwin. De Præſul. Angl. p. 237, 238.

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and ſo did Cranmer; and that then it [i. e. the catechiſm] was given to others of the convocation to ſet their hands, but without compulſion (*d*)." This paſſage merits a remark or two.

1. The catechiſm abovementioned (by ſome, called King Edward's Catechiſm; by ſome, biſhop (*e*) Ponet's; by others, Dr. Alexander Nowel's, becauſe afterwards enlarged and republiſhed by that learned dean, in the reign of Elizabeth) was approved and paſſed by a public ſynod, held at London, under the expreſs warrant of king Edward himſelf. 2. The ſynod, which approved, paſſed, and ſubſcribed this catechiſm, was the ſelf-ſame ſynod, or convocation, which proved, paſſed, and ſubſcribed the book of articles (*f*): though the latter

(*d*) Strype's Eccleſ. Memorials, vol. ii. p. 368.

(*e*) Mr. Strype believed, that Dr. Alexander Nowel had the chief hand in framing this catechiſm. I ſuppoſe, it is on the authority of biſhop Bale, that it is ſometimes ſingly attributed to Dr. Ponet. Poſſibly, Ponet might digeſt and throw it into form. But its rough materials were, moſt probably, furniſhed by the joint care of the reformers in general, and of Cranmer in particular, who was one of the prime agents, in every thing that related to religion, during this whole reign.

(*f*) "While the parliament was ſitting this winter, a ſynod alſo was held, wherein was framed and concluded a book of articles of religion, purified and reformed from the errors of Popery and other ſects;—for the avoiding of controverſy in opinions, and the eſtabliſhment of a godly concord in certain matters of religion. A catechiſm, for the inſtruction of children in the fundamentals of true religion, paſſed the ſaid ſynod." Strype, ut ſupra.

Dr. Fuller alſo aſcribes the catechiſm to the ſame perſons who drew up the articles: i. e. to the reformers themſelves. "With theſe" [i. e. with the articles of religion agreed upon in convocation,] "was bound a catechiſm, younger in age (as bearing date of the next year,) but of the ſame extraction, relating to this convocation, as author thereof." Where let it be obſerved, that the reformers preſided perſonally in this convocation, and were the very life and movers of all that was acted in it.—Fuller goes on: "Indeed it" [viz. the catechiſm] "was firſt compiled (as appears by the King's patent prefixed) by a ſingle divine, characterred 'pious and learned:' but afterwards peruſed and allowed by the biſhops, and other learned men, &c. and by royal authority commanded to all ſubjects, [and] commanded to all ſchoolmaſters to teach it their ſcholars."—

Fuller's

latter were not publiſhed until the ſummer following. Conſequently, 3. The Church of England is indebted for thoſe articles which at this day are ſubſcribed by her clergy, to the care and piety of that very ſynod who publicly and ſolemnly ſet their ſeal to that catechiſm. 4. The catechiſm being fraught with the higheſt Calviniſm, they, who ſubſcribed it (and Cranmer among the reſt), were either temporizing hypocrites, or ſincere Calviniſts. 5. Biſhop Ridley evidently had an hand in compiling it: witneſs his own words, already quoted, teſtifying that he had "noted many things for it;" i. e. in modern language, he had furniſhed ſome hints towards the materials out of which it had been framed. 6. He owned and aſſented to the contents of it, in the face of the Popiſh court at Oxford, by whom he was tried and condemned to the flames. 7. From what paſſed on that occaſion, it is conſpicuous, that nothing gives the Church of Rome ſo much offence, as the Calviniſtic doctrines aſſerted in that Proteſtant catechiſm: Mr. Sellon, therefore, is prodigiouſly miſtaken, in affirming, that, as Predeſtinarians, "Our reformers did only ſay over again thoſe leſſons which they had learned in the Romiſh ſchools." 8. The uſe of this catechiſm was enjoined by the united authority of Church and State. Both the ſynod and the king's privy council, concurred in giving it their ſanction. "In May, the

Fuller's Church Hiſt. book 7. p. 421.—The "ſingle divine," characterized, in the King's patent, as "pious and learned;" was probably, biſhop Ponet: to whom the care of reviſing and methodizing the catechiſm, ſeems to have been committed: and whom Heylin himſelf characterizes as "an excellent Græcian, well-ſtudied with the ancient fathers, and one of the ableſt mathematicians which thoſe times produced." Heylin alſo obſerves, concerning the catechiſm itſelf, that it was "bound up with the book of articles, countenanced by the King's letters patents prefixed before it, approved by many biſhops and learned men, and generally voiced to be another of the products of this convocation:" though himſelf, for reaſons ſufficiently obvious, affects to doubt of the latter circumſtance. Miſc. Tracts, p. 551. 553.

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next year," ſays Strype, "viz. 1553, the council ſent their letters abroad, in behalf of this catechiſm, enjoining it to be taught to ſcholars, as the ground and foundation of their [religious] learning; as it is expreſſed in the Warrant Book (*g*)." Whence it is evident, 9. That the reformers and Proteſtant clergy of England conſidered the belief of predeſtination, and its relative doctrines, as eſſential and fundamental to the very exiſtence of Chriſtianity itſelf. 10. The injunctions of the council reſpecting this catechiſm, were iſſued at the ſame time that the articles themſelves were publiſhed, viz. in May, 1553. The catechiſm, therefore, was deſigned as a larger diſplay of thoſe evangelical principles, which were virtually, but more briefly, contained in the articles. The reaſon is evident. The articles were intended for the clergy, who were ſuppoſed not to need ſo extended and minute a detail of doctrine: a compendious ſummary would, to them, anſwer the end, full as well. But the caſe was judged to be different with the laity of that time. It ſeemed neceſſary, that the Church articles ſhould be explained to them, in a more particular and expanded manner; eſpecially, to young perſons: and therefore the catechiſm was enjoined, as a kind of familiar and copious elucidation of what the articles comprized in a narrower compaſs. The articles were (if I may ſo ſpeak) the text: the catechiſm was the commentary.

Peter Heylin's conceſſion, in favour of this catechiſm, is very obſervable. "For my part," ſays that Arminian, "I can ſee no poſſible inconvenience which can follow on it, in yielding ſo far as to admit the paſſages before recited," [viz. the paſſages cited by Prynne from the ſaid catechiſm, which happened to be the very ſame paſſages which I too ſhall preſently cite from it in this Section] "to be fully con-

(*g*) Ibid. p. 369.

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ſonant to the true, genuine ſenſe and proper meaning of all, but more eſpecially of our 9th, 10th, 13th, 16th and 17th articles, then newly compoſed. So that whatſoever is poſitively and clearly affirmed in this catechiſm, of any of the points now controverted, may be ſafely implied as the undoubted doctrine of our Church and articles (*b*)."

The ſum of all, ſo far as concerns Cranmer, is; that, if he was an honeſt man (which I ſee no reaſon to ſuſpect), he muſt have been, what Arminians would now call, a rigid predeſtinarian. Nor is this alternative limited to that good archbiſhop. It holds equally true of all and every divine, who had any hand in our excellent reformation.

As my former Vindication of the Church of England, from the Charge of Arminianiſm, has been long out of print; an extract from the above celebrated catechiſm, though already given in that pamphlet, ſeems due to the readers of this; and the rather, as Mr. Sellon has been ſo indecently raſh, as to affirm (p. 53) that this valuable monument of good old Church-doctrine "does not contain much more ſound divinity than the old Koran of Mahomet." Whether Cranmer, and thoſe other excellent men, who were the fathers of our Engliſh reformation, deſerve the name of Mahometans, with which this ignorant, foul-mouthed writer dares to brand their venerable memories, will beſt appear, from the following paſſages which occur in the catechiſm itſelf. The ſpeakers are ſuppoſed to be maſter and ſcholar.

"As many as are in this faith ſtedfaſt, were forechoſen, predeſtinated, and appointed to everlaſting life, before the world was made. Witneſs hereof, they have within their hearts the ſpirit of Chriſt, the author, earneſt, and unfailable pledge of their faith. Which faith only is able to perceive the myſteries

(*b*) Heylin's Miſc. Tracts, p. 585.

of

of God; only brings peace unto the heart; only taketh hold on the righteouſneſs which is in Chriſt Jeſus.

" Maſter. Doth then the ſpirit alone, and faith (ſleepe we never ſo ſecurely, or ſtand we never ſo rechleſs or ſlouthful), ſo worke all things for us, as, without any helpe of our owne, to carry us idle up to Heaven?

" Schol. I uſe, Maſter, as you have taught me, to make a difference betweene the cauſe and the effect. The firſt, principal, and moſt proper cauſe of our juſtification and ſalvation, is the goodneſs and love of God, whereby he choſe us for his, before he made the world. After that, God granteth us to be called, by the preaching of the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, when the Spirit of the Lord is poured into us: by whoſe guiding and governance we be led to ſettle our truſt in God, and hope for the performance of his promiſe.——From the ſame Spirit alſo cometh our ſanctification; the love of God, and of our neighbour; juſtice, and uprightneſſe of life. Finally, to ſay all in ſumme: Whatever is in us, or may be done of us, honeſt, pure, true, and good; it altogether ſpringeth out of this moſt pleaſant rocke, from this moſt plentifull fountain, the goodneſs, love, choice, and unchangeable purpoſe of God. He is the cauſe: the reſt are the fruits and effects.

" Yet are alſo the goodneſſe, choice, and Spirit of God, and Chriſt himſelfe, cauſes, conjoined and coupled each with other; whiche may be reckoned among the principal cauſes of ſalvation. As oft, therefore, as we uſe to ſay, that we are made righteous, and ſaved, by faith only; it is meant thereby, that faith, or rather truſt, alone, doth lay hand upon, underſtand, and perceive our righteous-making to be given us of God freely, that is to ſay, by no deſerts of our own, but by the free grace of the Almighty Father. Moreover, faith doth ingender in

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us love of our neighbour, and ſuch workes as God is pleaſed withall: for, if it be a lively and true faith, quickened by the Holy Ghoſt, ſhe is the mother of all good ſaying and doing.

"By this ſhort tale it is evident, whence, and by what meanes we attaine to be righteous. For, not by the worthineſs of our deſervings, were we either heretofore choſen, or long agoe ſaved; but by the only mercy of God, and pure grace of Chriſt our Lord: whereby we were in him made to doe theſe good workes, that God had appointed for us to walke in. And although good workes cannot deſerve to make us righteous before God, yet do they ſo cleave unto faith, that neither faith can be found without them, nor good workes be any where found without faith.

"Immortality and bleſſed life God hath provided for his choſen, before the foundations of the world were laid.

"As for the ſacrifices, cleanſings, waſhings, and other ceremonies of the law; they were ſhadows, types, images, and figures, of the true and eternal ſacrifice that Jeſus Chriſt made upon the croſſe; by whoſe benefit alone, all the ſinnes of all beleevers, from the beginning of the world, are pardoned, by the ſole mercy of God, and not by any merits of their owne.

"As ſoone as ever Adam and Eve had eaten of the forbidden fruit, they both dyed: that is, they were not only liable to the death of the body, but they likewiſe loſt the life of the ſoule, which is righteouſneſſe. And forthwith the divine image is obſcured in them; and thoſe lineaments of righteouſneſſe, holineſſe, truth, and knowledge of God, which were exceeding comely, were diſordered, and almoſt obliterated. The terrene image only remained; coupled with unrighteouſneſſe, fraud, carnal affections, and groſſe ignorance of divine and heavenly things. From thence, alſo, proceeded the infirmity of

of our fleſh. From thence, that corruption and confuſion of the affections and deſires. Hence, that plague, hence that ſeminary and nutriment of all ſinne, with which mankinde, is infected, which is called original ſinne. Moreover, nature is ſo depraved and caſt downe, that unleſſe the goodneſſe and mercy of Almighty God had helped us by the medicine of grace, as in body we are thruſt downe into all the miſerys of death, ſo it was [i. e. it would have been] neceſſary that all men of all ſorts ſhould be caſt into eternal torments, and fire which cannot bee quenched.

"The Holy Ghoſt is called holy, not onely for his owne holineſſe, but becauſe the elect of God are made holy by him. The church, is the company of thoſe who are called to eternal life by the Holy Ghoſt, by whom ſhe is guided and governed: which, ſince ſhe cannot be underſtood by the light of ſenſe or nature, is juſtly placed among the number of thoſe things which are to be beleeved. And it [i. e. the church] is therefore called the Catholicke, that is, the univerſal aſſembly of the faithful; becauſe it is not tied to any certaine place."

From the above extracts, an idea may be formed of the doctrines, which Cranmer, and his fellow-reformers, and the members of the church of England, maintained in thoſe days of Proteſtant purity. In ſuch high eſtimation was this evangelical catechiſm held, that king Edward himſelf honoured it with a prefatory epiſtle (dated at Greenwich, May 20.) "Commanding and charging all ſchoolmaſters whatſoever, within his dominions, as they did reverence his authority, and as they would avoid his royal diſpleaſure, to teach this catechiſm, diligently and carefully, in all and every their ſchools: that ſo, the youth of the kingdome might be ſettled in the grounds of true religion, and furthered in God's worſhip." Add to this, that it was not only publiſhed in Engliſh, and annexed to the church-ar-

 ticles,

ticles, for the inſtruction of the King's own ſubjects; but alſo in Latin, that foreigners might with the more certainty, judge for themſelves, and ſee with their own eyes, what were the genuine and authentic doctrines of our reformed church.

Archbiſhop Cranmer's Calviniſm did not expire with the reign of king Edward. The great and good prelate had it ſeems, ſoon after the acceſſion of Mary, been falſely accuſed of temporizing in ſome religious matters, with a view to ingratiate himſelf with the new Popiſh Queen. This he courageouſly diſproved, in a printed paper, to which he ſet his name; and wherein among others, is the following remarkable paragraph: "And although many, either unlearned or malicious, do report that Mr. Peter Martyr is unlearned; yet, if the Queen's highneſs will grant thereunto, I, with the ſaid Mr. Peter Martyr, and other four or five, which I ſhall chuſe, will, by God's grace, take upon us to defend, not only the common prayers of the church, the miniſtration of the Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, but alſo all the doctrine and religion ſet out by our ſovereign lord, king Edward VI. to be more pure, and according to God's word, than any other that hath been uſed in England theſe thouſand years (*i*)."—Now, the catechiſm, already cited, was a part, and a very diſtinguiſhed part, of "the doctrine and religion ſet forth by king Edward VI." Conſequently, in the above challenge, that catechiſm was one of thoſe Proteſtant regulations, which Cranmer publicly offered to defend againſt the whole army of Popiſh diſputants.—Surely, if ever there was a Calviniſt on earth, Cranmer (*k*) was one! And ſo was,

II. Dr.

(*i*) Fox, vol. iii. p. 77.

(*k*) Dr. Edwards cites a paſſage from this renowned archbiſhop, which may ſerve to confirm the general tenor of the evidences already produced. In Cranmer's ſecond treatiſe againſt Gardiner, theſe words, it ſeems, occur: "Our Saviour Chriſt, according to the

II. Dr. Nicholas Ridley, that illuſtrious reformer, prelate, and martyr. He became biſhop of Rocheſter, in 1547; and was tranſlated to London, in 1550, on the deprivation of Bonner. Every body knows, that he was finally burned at Oxford, A. D. 1555, at one ſtake with biſhop Latimer. As the two epiſcopal martyrs were led out to the place of execution (which was before Baliol College), they looked up to Cranmer's priſon-window, in hopes of ſeeing him at it, that they might bid the laſt farewell to their beloved metropolitan. But, at that inſtant, the archbiſhop was "Engaged in diſputation with ſome friars: ſo that he was not then at his window. But he looked after them, with great tenderneſs: and, kneeling down, prayed earneſtly, that God would ſtrengthen their faith and patience, in that their laſt, but painful paſſage (*l*)." Being arrived at the ſtake, Ridley embraced Latimer with ſurprizing chearfulneſs, and teſtified his aſſurance of divine ſupport, in theſe remarkable words: "Be of good heart, brother; for God will either aſſuage the fury of the flame, or elſe ſtrengthen us to abide it." Nor was Latimer leſs filled with joy in the Holy Ghoſt: for, when the fire was kindled at Ridley's feet, the former thus encouraged his bleſſed fellow-victim, "Be of good comfort, Mr. Ridley, and play the man! We ſhall, this day, by God's grace, light ſuch a candle in England, as, I truſt, ſhall never be put out (*m*)."

In producing a ſpecimen of biſhop Ridley's rooted attachment to the Calvinian doctrines, I ſhall begin

the will of his eternal Father, when the time thereof was fully accompliſhed, taking our nature upon him, came into the world, from the high throne of his Father; to give light to them that were in darkneſs and the ſhadow of death, and to preach, and give pardon and full remiſſion of ſins to all his elected."—See Edwards's Veritas Redux, p. 526.

(*l*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reform. vol. ii. p. 296.

(*m*) Fox, iii. p. 430.

with a general, but a very deciſive proof of it: I mean, the extreme veneration, in which, to the end of his life, he held that excellent catechiſm of the Church of England, publiſhed in 1553. The abſtracts from it, which have been already lain before the reader, demonſtrate, that it was drawn up in the higheſt ſtrains of Calviniſm. The two following paſſages, written by biſhop Ridley, during his impriſonment, and juſt before his martyrdom, will, conſequently, demonſtrate him to have been a very high Calviniſt. "Finally, I hear ſay, that the catechiſm, which was lately ſet forth in the Engliſh tongue, is now" [viz. after the reſtoration of Popery, by queen Mary] "in every pulpit condemned. Oh, deviliſh malice! and moſt ſpitefully injurious to the redemption of mankind purchaſed by Jeſus Chriſt! Indeed, Satan could not long ſuffer, that ſo great light ſhould be ſpread abroad in the world (*n*)." In his admirable farewell-letter to his relations, he obſerves, that, while Proteſtantiſm flouriſhed under pious king Edward, "the church of England had, through the infinite goodneſs and abundant grace of Almighty God, great riches of heavenly treaſure; great plenty of God's true, ſincere word; the true and wholeſome adminiſtration of Chriſt's holy ſacraments; the whole profeſſion of Chriſt's religion, truly and plainly ſet forth in baptiſm; the plain declaration and underſtanding of the ſame, taught in the holy catechiſm, to have been learned of all true Chriſtians (*o*)."

Another general proof of Ridley's ſoundneſs in the faith, may be taken from the pathetic anguiſh, with which he lamented the abolition of the Homilies and Articles. The church of England, ſays he, "had alſo holy and wholeſome Homilies, in commendation of the principal virtues. She had, in matters of controverſy, articles ſo pen-

(*n*) Fox, ibid. p. 372. (*o*) Fox, ibid. p. 432.

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ned and framed after the holy Scriptures, and grounded upon the true underſtanding of God's word, that, in ſhort time, if they had been univerſally received, they would have been able to have ſet in Chriſt's true religion, and to have expelled many falſe errors and hereſies. But, alas! I may well cry out, O God, the heathens are come into thy heritage: they have defiled thy holy temple, and made Jeruſalem an heap of ſtones. Theſe thieves" [meaning the Papiſts, ſuperinduced by queen Mary] "be of Samaria. Theſe Sabeans and Chaldeans, theſe robbers (*p*), have ruſhed out of their dens, and have robbed the church of England of all the foreſaid holy treaſure of God (*q*)." viz. of her catechiſm, liturgy, homilies, and articles. Thus did this plaintive nightingale warble forth his woes. Thus did he hang his harp upon the willows, and mourn over the ruins of Zion.—Bleſſed be God, there were mercies in reſerve for this kingdom, which the weeping martyr little imagined, and which ſoon reverſed the face of things. Ridley was executed, October 16, 1555. On the 17th of November, 1558, queen Mary went to give an account of her butcheries to God; and Elizabeth mounted the throne.

(*p*) Would to God, that the preſent age afforded none of theſe! No Proteſtant Sabeans, no Samaritans in crape! who, even while they derive their maintenance from the breaſts of the church, ſeek to rob her of her choiceſt "Holy treaſure," the doctrines which are her crown of glory—The doctrines, which the robbers themſelves, kneeling at God's altar, have ſolemnly vowed to maintain—The doctrines, to which they have alſo deliberately affixed the ſubſcription of the hand—The doctrines, to which they have not only ſubſcribed and vowed at the time of their ordination, but ratified both vow and ſubſcription by immediately receiving the ſymbols of Chriſt's precious body and blood as a ſeal to the whole!—If inconteſtable fact did not compel us to the contrary, we could hardly believe it poſſible for the utmoſt depravity of human nature to aim at the ſubverſion of a Church, which the intentional ſubverters are tied, by ſuch a chain of engagements, to ſupport.

(*q*) Fox, ibid. p. 432.

The above general evidences of biſhop Ridley's principles, are extremely ſtrong and concluſive. I ſhall, however, lay before the reader ſome farther proofs ſtill more explicit and particular.

The doctrine of election, or predeſtination to life, appears to have been a favourite article with this eminent ſervant of God. Making mention of biſhop Farrar, biſhop Hooper, Mr. Rogers, and others, who had lately poured out their ſouls unto death for the teſtimony of Chriſt; he obſerves, theſe "were burned at Smithfield in London, with many others in Eſſex and Kent: whoſe names are written in the book of life (*r*)." Again: "I doubt not in the infinite goodneſs of my Lord God, nor in the faithful fellowſhip of his elect and choſen people (*s*)." His definition of the true, inviſible church, is not a little remarkable: by the church of England, ſays Ridley, "I mean the congregation of the true choſen children of God in this realm of England: whom I acknowledge, not only to be my neighbours, but rather the congregation of my ſpiritual brethren and ſiſters in Chriſt; yea, members of one body, wherein, by God's grace, I am and have been grafted in Chriſt (*t*)." In his pathetic "farewell to all afflicted for the goſpel," he thus concludes: "farewell, farewell, O ye, the whole and univerſal congregation of the choſen of God, here living upon earth; the true Church Militant of Chriſt; the true myſtical body of Chriſt; the very houſhold and family of God, and the ſacred temple of the Holy Ghoſt; farewell! Farewell, O thou little flock of the high, heavenly paſtors of Chriſt: For to thee it hath pleaſed the heavenly Father to give an everlaſting and eternal kingdom.—Farewell, thou ſpiritual houſe of God, thou holy and royal prieſthood, thou choſen generation, thou holy nation, thou won ſpouſe; farewell, farewell (*u*)!"

(*r*) See Fox, iii. p. 374. (*s*) Ibid. p. 432.
(*t*) Ibid. p. 432. (*u*) Ibid. p. 439.

God's

God's election of his people is founded on his free love to them from everlaſting. This love is unalterable and perpetual. Whence the following juſt obſervation of Ridley: "In all ages, God hath had his own manner, after his ſecret and unſearchable wiſdom, to uſe his elect, ſometimes to deliver them, and to keep them ſafe; and ſometimes to ſuffer them to drink of Chriſt's cup, i. e. to feel the ſmart and to feel the whip. And though the fleſh ſmarteth at the one, and feeleth eaſe at the other; is glad of the one, and ſore vexed in the other; yet the Lord is all one toward them, in both: and loveth them no leſs when he ſuffereth them to be beaten; yea, and to be put to bodily death, than when he worketh wonders for their marvellous delivery.—This his love toward them, howſoever the world doth judge of it, is all one. He loved as well Peter and Paul, when (after they had, according to his bleſſed will, pleaſure, and providence, finiſhed their courſes, and done their ſervices appointed them by him, here, in preaching of his goſpel) the one was beheaded, and the other was hanged or crucified by the cruel tyrant Nero; as when he ſent his angel to bring Peter out of priſon, and [as when] for Paul's delivery he made all the doors of the priſon to fly wide open (*x*)."

As Ridley thus believed the love, with which God embraces his people, to be unchangeably and forever the ſame, amidſt all the varying diſpenſations of Providence; he muſt, by virtue of that principle, have likewiſe believed the final perſeverance of thoſe who are thus loved and choſen. According to him, perſeverance is the ſpecial gift of God: "I wiſh you grace in God," ſays he, "and love of the the truth: without which, truly eſtabliſhed in mens hearts by the mighty hand of the Almighty God, it is no more poſſible to ſtand by the truth in

(*x*) Ibid. 446.

time of trouble, than it is for wax to abide the heat of the fire (*z*)." Omnipotent grace being the only root of perſeverance, the martyr cannot help breaking out, elſewhere, into this pious exclamation! "Well, is he, that ever he was born, for whom thus graciouſly God hath provided! having grace of God, and ſtrength of the Holy Ghoſt, to ſtand ſtedfaſtly in the height of the ſtorm! happy is he, that ever he was born, whom God, his heavenly Father, hath vouchſafed to appoint to glorify him, and to edify his church, by the effuſion of his blood (*a*)!"

It was an eſſential branch of Ridley's Theology, that this great gift of perſeverance is vouchſafed to all the elect. "The Father," ſays he, "who guides them that be Chriſt's to Chriſt, is more mighty than all they," [i. e. than all the perſecutors of his people,] and no man is able to pull them" [i. e. to pull thoſe who belong to Chriſt] "out of the Father's hands (*b*)."—What a ſtrong affiance in this grand article, do his following words diſplay! "Bleſſed be God, who has given you a manly courage, and hath ſo ſtrengthened you in the inward man, by the power of his ſpirit; that you can contemn,

(*z*) Ibid. 372.

(*a*) Ibid. 446.—To the ſame effect he ſpeaks in his conference with Latimer: "The number," ſays Ridley, "of the criers under the altar muſt needs be fulfilled; if we be ſecrecated thereto, happy be we. It is the greateſt promotion that God giveth in this world, to be ſuch Philippians, to whom it is given not only to believe, but alſo to ſuffer. But who is able to do theſe things" [viz. to believe in Chriſt, and to ſuffer for his ſake?] "Surely, all our ability, all our ſufficiency is of God. He requireth, and promiſeth" [i. e. he promiſes to work in us the duties and graces he requires of us]—"Pray for me; pray for me: I ſay, pray for me. For I am ſometimes ſo fearful, that I would creep into a mouſe-hole. Sometimes, God doth viſit me again with his comfort. So he cometh and goeth, to teach me to feel and to know my infirmity; to the intent to give thanks to him that is worthy; leſt I ſhould rob him of his due, as many do, and almoſt all the world." Fox, ibid. p. 368.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 370.

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as well all the terrors, as alſo the vain flatteries and allurements, of the world: eſteeming them as vanities, mere trifles, and things of nought. Who hath alſo wrought, planted, and ſurely eſtabliſhed, in your hearts, ſo ſtedfaſt a faith and love of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; joined with ſuch conſtancy, that, by no engines of antichriſt, be they never ſo terrible or plauſible, ye will ſuffer any other Jeſus, or any other Chriſt, to be forced upon you, beſides him, whom the Prophets have ſpoken of (*c*)."—He that is in us, is ſtronger than he that is in the world: and the Lord promiſeth unto us, that, for the elects' ſake, the days of wickedneſs ſhall be ſhortened (*d*)."—"Ye, therefore, my brethren, who pertain unto Chriſt, and have the ſeal of God marked in your foreheads; that is, to wit, who are ſealed with the earneſt of the ſpirit to be a peculiar people of God; quit yourſelves like men, and be ſtrong. Ye know, that all, that is born of God, overcometh the world: and this is our victory that overcometh the world, even our faith. Let the world fret, let it rage never ſo much, no man can take us out of the Father's hands, for he is greater than all.—Who ſhall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect! It is God that juſtifieth; who then ſhall condemn?—Who ſhall ſeparate us from the love of Chriſt?—We are certainly perſuaded, with St. Paul, by the grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that no kind of thing ſhall be able to ſeparate us from the love of God which is in Chriſt Jeſus our Lord (*e*)." I ſhall cite him but once more on the head of perſeverance: "I conſider the ſubtilties of Satan, and how he is able, by his falſe perſuaſions, to deceive, if it were poſſible, even the choſen of God (*f*)."

(*c*) Ibid. 371. (*d*) Ibid. (*e*) Ibid. 372.
(*f*) Ibid. 442.

Ridley's

Ridley's view of Providence was equally Calviniſtic. "Know ye, that the heavenly Father hath ever a gracious eye and reſpect toward you, and a fatherly proviſion for you: ſo that, without his knowledge and permiſſion, nothing can do you harm. Let us therefore caſt all our care upon him, and he ſhall provide that which ſhall be beſt for us. For if, of two ſmall ſparrows, which both are ſold for a mite, one of them lighteth not on the ground without your Father, and all the hairs of our heads are numbered; fear not, ſaith our maſter Chriſt, for ye are of more value than many ſmall ſparrows (*g*)."

His doctrine, concerning the neceſſity and efficacy of divine influence, may be learned from that ſtriking prayer of his: "The Lord vouchſafe to open the eyes of the blind, with the light of grace; that they may ſee, and perceive, and underſtand the words of God, after the mind of his ſpirit (*h*)." And that he ſuppoſed redemption to be limited to a certain number, the following paſſage clearly evinces: "The death and paſſion of Chriſt our Saviour was, and is, the one, only, ſufficient, and everlaſting available ſacrifice, ſatisfactory for all the elect of God, from Adam, the firſt, to the laſt that ſhall be born in the end of the world (*i*)."

So much for the doctrines of this great man. A word or two, concerning his general character, and uſual manner of living, may not be unacceptable to the reader.

He was born in that part of Northumberland, called Tynedale, near the borders of Scotland; and received the finiſhings of his education, partly at Paris, and partly at Cambridge. "His behaviour," ſay the compilers of his article in the Biographical Dictionary, "was very obliging, and very pious;

(*g*) Ibid. 437. (*h*) Ibid. 445. (*i*) Ibid. 440.

without

without hypocriſy, or monkiſh auſterity: for, very often, he would ſhoot in the bow, and play at tennis; and was eminent for the great charities he beſtowed (*k*)." While he reſided on his vicarage of Herne, in Kent, Providence directed him to the peruſal of Bertram's celebrated Treatiſe on the Lord's Supper, written about ſeven hundred years before (*l*): which effectually convinced him of the falſehood and abſurdity of tranſubſtantiation. By his acquaintance with Cranmer, and other excellent men of that time; and, above all, by his unwearied application to the Holy Scriptures; his eyes were farther and farther opened: and he ſettled, by degrees, into a conſiſtent, evangelical Proteſtant.—After his appointment to the ſee of London, his exaltation only ſerved to render him more humble, affable, and uſeful. Nothing could exceed the tenderneſs and reſpect, with which he treated Mrs. Bonner, mother to his predeceſſor, the ſuperſeded biſhop of London. "Biſhop Ridley, being at his manor of Fulham, always ſent for this Mrs. Bonner (who lived in an houſe adjoining) to dinner and ſupper; with one Mrs. Mungey, biſhop Bonner's ſiſter; ſaying, Go for my mother Bonner. He always placed her at the head of his table, even though any of the king's council were preſent (*m*)."

"His mode of life was, as ſoon as he had riſen and dreſſed, to continue in private prayer for half an hour. He then retired to his ſtudy, till ten: at which time he went, with his family, to common prayer; and, every day, read a lecture to them. After prayers, he adjourned to dinner: where his converſation was, always, wiſe and diſcreet; ſometimes, merry and chearful. This converſation he would indulge for an hour after dinner; or elſe, in

(*k*) Biog. Dict. vol. xii. p. 304.
(*l*) Bertram, or Ratramus, was cotemporary with Gottſchalc.
(*m*) See Fox, iii. 360.

playing

playing at chefs. The hour for unbending being expired, he returned to his ſtudy, where he continued till five; except ſuitors, or buſineſs abroad, otherwiſe required. Then he went to common prayers in the evening: and, after ſupper, having diverted himſelf another hour as before, he returned to his ſtudy, where he continued till eleven at night. From thence, going apart to private prayer, he retired to bed: where he, and his houſhold (made virtuous by his example and inſtruction) enjoyed the ſweet repoſe of a day well ſpent. A little before king Edward died, he was nominated to the biſhopric of Durham. But, great as the honours were, which he received, and were intended him; the higheſt were reſerved for him under queen Mary: which were, to be a priſoner for the goſpel, a confeſſor of Chriſt in bonds, and a martyr for his truth (*n*)."

He was eſteemed the moſt learned of all the Engliſh reformers: and was inferior to none of them in piety, ſanctity, and clearneſs of evangelical light (*o*). His doctrinal ſyſtem was, as I have already ſhewn, formed entirely on the plan of Scripture; to which ſacred volume his love and attachment were inexpreſſible. "In a walk in the orchard at Pembroke Hall (Cambridge), which is to this day called Ridley's Walk, he got by heart almoſt all the epiſtles in Greek (*p*)." To this circumſtance, himſelf alludes, in the following paſſage, written a little before his martyrdom: "Farewell, Pembroke

(*n*) Biogr. Dict. vol. xii. p. 306.

(*o*) "He was a perſon ſmall in ſtature, but great in learning; and profoundly read in divinity. His fine parts, and his great improvements in all the branches of literature neceſſary to a divine, gave him the firſt rank in his profeſſion; and his life was anſwerable to his knowledge. He had a hand in compiling the Common-Prayer Book; and of all, who ſerved at the altar of the Church of England, he bore, perhaps, the moſt uſeful teſtimony, both in life and death, to her doctrine." Rolt's Lives of the Reformers, p. 172.

(*p*) Ibid. p. 305.

Hall,

Hall, of late my own college, my cure and my charge. What caſe thou art in now, God knoweth: I know not well. Thou waſt ever named, ſince I knew thee, which is not thirty years ago, to be ſtudious, well learned, and a great ſetter forth of Chriſt's goſpel, and of God's true word. So I found thee, and, bleſſed be God, ſo I left thee indeed. Woe is me for thee, my own dear college, if ever thou ſuffer thyſelf by any means to be brought from that trade. In thy orchard (the walls, butts, and trees, if they could ſpeak, would bear me witneſs) I learned without book almoſt all St. Paul's Epiſtles: yea, and, I ween, all the canonical epiſtles, ſave only the Apocalyps. Of which ſtudy, though in time a great part did depart from me, yet the ſweet ſcent thereof, I truſt, I ſhall carry with me into Heaven. The profit thereof, I think, I have felt in all my life-time ever after (*q*)." Were more of our modern divines thus intimately verſed in the book of God, the Church of England would not be in ſuch danger, from the Arminianiſm of ſome, who call themſelves her ſons.

III. Mr. Hugh Latimer, ſome time biſhop of Worceſter, was another of our reformers and martyrs. Though he did by no means ſhine as a ſcholar, but appears to have been rather deficient in human learning; he was, nevertheleſs, conſpicuous for his piety, zeal, and undiſguiſed ſimplicity. His talents, as a preacher, were plain, and not unpopular. His ſermons, more practical than ſpeculative (*r*), were chiefly calculated to expoſe the reigning immoralities of that age, in a ſtyle (though he

(*q*) Fox, iii. 434.

(*r*) His zeal and ſincerity inſpired him with figures of ſpeech, to which learning and ſtudy cannot riſe.—His diſcourſes were directed, rather to the reformation of manners, than to the controverſies of religion.—In ſhort, Latimer, with a moderate ſhare of learning and abilities, was a much greater man, a much better Chriſtian, and a much worthier biſhop, than many of his order, who have ſhone with a more conſpicuous figure." Rolt, p. 174.

often

often preached at court) altogether ſuited to the capacities of the vulgar and the unlettered. But the coarſe ſounding of Latimer's ram's-horn was, perhaps, as uſeful to the common people; as the ſofter muſic of the ſilver trumpet, modulated by Cranmer, Ridley, and the other reformers, was, to the learned and polite.

Though we muſt not always expect to find, in the diſcourſes of Latimer, that exactneſs of logical accuracy, and that ſtrictneſs of ſyſtematic harmony, which mark the performances of more accompliſhed divines; ſtill we ſhall be ſure to meet with genuine ſignatures of a gracious heart, and with lively veſtiges of the knowledge that comes from above. And, notwithſtanding the Arminians affect to claim this reformer for their own; the abſolute want of truth, on which that claim is founded, will abundantly appear from the many ſtriking and deciſive paſſages, which I ſhall ſhortly lay before the reader.

Before I produce thoſe paſſages themſelves, permit me, as uſual, to premiſe a general obſervation, in favour of our martyr's Calviniſm.—I mean the terms of reſpect and affection, in which he mentions the names of Auſtin, Luther, and Peter Martyr: who were, all, ſtrenuous champions for abſolute predeſtination. St. Auſtin, whom Mr. Sellon ignorantly and abuſively ſtyles "The great and giddy apoſtle of the Calviniſts;" this ſame St. Auſtin is called, by Latimer, "A good Chriſtian, and a defender of Chriſt's religion and of the faith (*s*)."—Mr. Sellon terms Luther "A weather-cock:" but Latimer terms him, "That wonderful inſtrument of God, through whom God hath opened the light of his holy word unto the world (*t*)."—Nor does Latimer ſpeak leſs reſpectfully of Peter Martyr: "There are yet among us," ſaid he, in a ſermon

(*s*) Latimer's Sermons, vol. i. p. 185.—Edit. 1758. octavo.
(*t*) Ibid. vol. ii. p. 669.

preached

preached before king Edward, "two great learned men, Peter Martyr, and Bernard Ochinus, which have an hundred marks apiece: I would the King would beſtow a thouſand pounds on that ſort (*u*)."

The hand likewiſe, which Latimer had, in drawing up the firſt part of our book of Homilies, muſt be conſidered as a loud and ſtanding evidence of his Calviniſm. He had reſigned his biſhopric (which he never afterwards reſumed), about ſeven years before the death of Henry VIII. on the paſſing of the ſix articles (*w*): and, about a twelvemonth after, was committed priſoner to the Tower; where he lay till the acceſſion of Edward VI. On his releaſe, "he accepted an invitation from his friend archbiſhop Cranmer, and took up his reſidence at Lambeth: where he aſſiſted the archbiſhop in compoſing the Homilies, which were ſet forth by authority in the firſt year of king Edward (*x*)." Theſe homilies are ſtill a part of our eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment. Let any man but read them; and then doubt if he can, whether the compoſers were not Calviniſts: i. e. Anti-Pelagians; for, at that time, and long after, the very name of Arminians was utterly unknown.

Now for ſome particular proofs of Latimer's orthodoxy. In producing theſe, I ſhall begin,

(1) With what he advances concerning election, or predeſtination unto life. "Curſed be he that doth the work of God negligently, or guilefully. A ſore word for them," [i e. for thoſe miniſters] "that are negligent in diſcharging their office, or have done it fraudulently: for that is the thing that maketh the people ill. But true it muſt be, that Chriſt ſaith; Many are called, but few are choſen (*y*)."

(*u*) Ibid. vol. i. p. 117.
(*w*) Parliamentary Hiſtory, vol. iii. p. 156.
(*x*) Biogr. Dict. vol. vii. p. 393.
(*y*) Latimer's Sermons, vol. i. p. 44.

"Some

"Some will ſay now, why heed we preachers then? God can ſave his elect without preachers? A goodly reaſon! God can ſave my life, without meat and drink: need I none therefore? God can ſave me from burning, if I were in the fire: ſhall I run into it therefore? No, no. I muſt keep the way that God hath ordained, and uſe that ordinary means that God hath aſſigned (z)." According, therefore, to Latimer (and, indeed, according to Scripture and right reaſon), the decree of predeſtination does not render the uſe of ordinary means unneceſſary.—On the contrary, the decree is that very root, from whence the means originally derive their efficacy.

Every Calviniſt maintains, that good works are the conſequence, and the evidence, of election. and, of thoſe good works, reſtitution, to ſuch perſons as we may have wronged, is certainly one.—Biſhop Latimer was exactly of our mind. "Some examples have been, of open reſtitution: and glad may he be, that God was ſo friendly unto him, as to bring him unto it in this world. I am not afraid to name him: it was maſter Sherington; an honeſt gentleman, and one that God loveth. He openly confeſſed, that he had deceived the king: and he made open reſtitution. O, what an argument may he have againſt the devil, when he ſhall move him to deſperation! God brought this out, to his amendment. It is a token, that he is a choſen man of God, and one of his elected (*a*)."

The paſſage immediately following, though it may tend to prove the vanity of making any calculation reſpecting thoſe times and ſeaſons which the Father hath put in his own power; demonſtrates, however, the undoubting firmneſs, with which Latimer held the doctrine of election. "The world was ordained to endure, as all learned men affirm, and prove it with Scripture, ſix thouſand years.

(z) Ibid. p. 261. (*a*) Ibid. p. 294.

Now,

Now, of that number, there be paſſed 5552: ſo that there is no more left, but 448. And, furthermore, thoſe days ſhall be ſhortened. It ſhall not be full 6000 years. The days ſhall be ſhortened for the elects' ſake (*b*)."

" St. Paul, that elect inſtrument of God, ſhewed a reaſon wherefore God layeth afflictions upon us. (*c*). We cannot come to that unſpeakable felicity, which God hath prepared for his, except we be clean in our hearts (*d*)."

The hypocriſy of too many religious profeſſors, and the frequent deceitfulneſs of appearances, occaſioned Latimer to make the following remark: " There is no great difference, here in this world, between the elect and the reprobate. For the very unfaithful give alms, &c. So that, I ſay, we cannot tell, as long as we be here in this world, which be elect, and which not. But at the laſt day, then it ſhall appear who is he that ſhall be ſaved; and, again, who ſhall be damned (*e*)."—There were ſome, however, of whoſe election the good biſhop could have no doubt: witneſs what he ſaid, above, concerning " maſter Sherington."

He juſtly obſerves, that the certainty of our election is to be inferred from the truth of our converſion. No Calviniſt ſays (nor, indeed, will the nature of the caſe permit any reaſonable man to argue ſo perverſely and abſurdly), I am elected, and therefore I ſhall be ſaved, whether I am converted or not. On the contrary, this is our language: God would not have converted me, if he had not elected me. We are for beginning at the bottom of the ladder, and for taking the chain by the right end. Hence (as biſhop Bancroft very properly obſerved at the Hampton-court conference), we argue, not *deſcendendo*, but *aſcendendo:* i. e. we riſe to the

(*b*) Ibid. p. 365. (*c*) Ibid. vol. ii. p. 484.
(*d*) Ibid. p. 509. (*e*) Ibid. p. 674.

fountain, by following the ſtream; or arrive at the knowledge of our own particular election, by the ſolid marks of ſanctification. We judge of God's objective purpoſes concerning us, by that ſubjective work of grace which he hath wrought within us. As election is the radical cauſe of regeneration; ſo regeneration, and its fruits, are the clue, by which we are guided to the ſight and ſenſe of election.—This was the preciſe view, in which Latimer conſidered the point: whence he ſays, and we ſay with him, "We need not go about to trouble ourſelves with curious queſtions of the predeſtination of God: but let us rather endeavour ourſelves that we may be in Chriſt. For, when we be in him, then are we well: and then we may be ſure that we are ordained to everlaſting life (*f*)."—Again, "When you find theſe three things in your hearts," [viz. repentance, faith, and a deſire to leave ſin], "then you may be ſure your names are written in the book, and you may be ſure alſo, that you are elected and predeſtinated to everlaſting life (*g*)."

Elſewhere, he comes more expreſsly to the point: "If thou art deſirous to know, whether thou art choſen to everlaſting life, thou mayſt not begin with God; for God is too high: thou canſt not comprehend him.——Begin with Chriſt, and learn to know Chriſt, and wherefore he came: namely, that he came to ſave ſinners, and made himſelf ſubject to the law, and a fulfiller of the law, to deliver us from the wrath and danger thereof.——If thou knoweſt Chriſt, then thou mayſt know further of thy election (*h*)."

Speaking

(*f*) Ibid. p. 846. (*g*) Ibid. p. 848.

(*h*) Ib. p. 886, 887, ſo again, p. 889. "Here is now taught you, how to try out your election; namely, in Chriſt: for Chriſt is the accounting-book and regiſter of God: even in the ſame book, that is, Chriſt, are written all the names of the elect. Therefore we cannot [viz. at firſt] find our election in ourſelves, neither yet in the high counſel of God. 'Where then ſhall I find my election?' In the counting-book of God, which is Chriſt."

The

Speaking of Joſeph and his afflictions, he adds, "Here you ſee how God doth exerciſe thoſe which appertain to everlaſting life (*i*)."—Treating of the laſt day, he ſtill keeps God's election in view: "The trumpet ſhall blow, and the angels ſhall come and gather all thoſe that offend, from among the elect of God. All the elect ſhall be gathered unto him, and there they ſhall ſee the judgment; but they themſelves ſhall not be judged, but ſhall be like as judges with him. After that the elect are ſeparated from the wicked, he ſhall give a moſt horrible and dreadful ſentence unto the wicked (*k*). —Then ſhall the elect ſhine as the ſun in the kingdom of God (*l*)."—Thus, ſays this worthy martyr, will Chriſt come, "in great honour and glory, and will make all his faithful like unto him, and will ſay, unto them that be choſen to everlaſting life, Come, ye bleſſed of my Father, poſſeſs that kingdom which is prepared for you from the beginning of the world (*m*)."—We ſhall find this valuable man no leſs clear and ſcriptural,

(2). In his ſentiments concerning Providence. "Remember the hair, how it falls not without God's providence. Remember the ſparrows, how they build in every houſe, and God provideth for them. And are you not much more precious to me, ſaith Chriſt, than ſparrows, or other birds! God will defend you, that, before your time cometh, ye ſhall not die, nor miſcarry.—God hath appointed his times, as pleaſeth him: and, before the time cometh that God hath appointed, they ſhall have no power againſt you.—Till thy time come, thou ſhalt not die (*n*)."

The ſum of Latimer's reaſoning, is this: If I believe in Chriſt alone for ſalvation, I am certainly intereſted in Chriſt; and intereſted in Chriſt I could not be, if I was not choſen and elected of God. Which is aſcending to election, by the right gradations.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 858. (*k*) Ibid. p. 867. (*l*) Ibid. p. 872.
(*m*) Ibid. p. 682. (*n*) Ibid. p. 295, 296, 297.

According to Latimer, God's will is diſtinguiſhable into ſecret and revealed. His ſecret will, is his will of decree, known only to himſelf: His revealed will, is his will of command, diſcovered and made known in his written word. His ſecret, or decreeing will, is the rule of his own conduct: His revealed or preceptive will, ought to be the rule of our conduct. Chriſt, ſays Latimer, "Teacheth us to pray, thy kingdom come——thy will be done. Here we muſt underſtand, that the will of God is to be conſidered after two ſorts. Firſt, as it is omnipotent, unſearchable, and that cannot be known to us. Now, we do not pray that his will, ſo conſidered, may be done: for his will, ſo conſidered, is, and ever ſhall be fulfilled, though we would ſay nay to it. For nothing either in Heaven or earth, is able to withſtand his will. Wherefore it were but folly for us to pray to have it fulfilled, otherwiſe than to ſhew thereby that we give our conſent to his will, which is to us unſearchable.—But there is another conſideration of God's holy will; and that conſideration we, and all faithful Chriſtians, deſire may be done: and, ſo conſidered, it is called a revealed, a manifeſted, and declared will; and it is opened unto us in the Bible, in the New and Old Teſtament. There God hath revealed a certain will: therefore, we pray that it may be done, and fulfilled of us (*o*)."

Latimer has already pronounced God's ſecret, or "unſearchable" will, to be "omnipotent:" i. e. God's decrees muſt and ſhall be accompliſhed and brought to paſs by his providence. No wonder, then, that our reformer, in exact harmony with that grand maxim, ſhould aſſert as follows: "He [i. e. God] filleth the earth; "that is to ſay, he ruleth and governeth the ſame: ordering all things according to his will and pleaſure (*p*)." From whence

(*o*) Ibid. p. 369, 370. (*p*) Ibid. p. 324.

it

it is very naturally inferred, that "we ought to be at his pleaſure: whenſoever and whatſoever he will do with us, we ought to be content with all (*q*)." That is, in modern language, we ought to believe, whatever is, is right: ſeeing "all things" are "ordered according to God's will and pleaſure."—Does not Latimer ſpeak the very quinteſſence of Calviniſm?

One would imagine, that, if any of mankind might be ſuppoſed to be more exempt, than others, from the immediate and conſtant controul of abſolute Providence, kings and ſovereign princes would be the men. Yet even theſe, according to honeſt Latimer's theology, are as much tied and bound from above, as the meaneſt of the human race. "God ſaith, through me kings reign. Yea, they be ſo under God's rule, that they can think nothing, nor do any thing, without God's permiſſion. For it is written, The heart of the king is in the hands of the Lord, and he turneth the ſame whitherſoever it pleaſeth him.——All thoſe great rulers, that have been from the beginning of the world till now, have been ſet up by the appointment of God; and he pulled them down, when it pleaſed him (*r*)."

Wealth and poverty are diſtributed by the hand of Providence. "It is written, the bleſſing of God maketh rich. Except God bleſs it, it [i. e. human labour] ſtandeth to no effect: for it is written, they ſhall eat, but yet never be ſatisfied. Eat as much as you will, except God feed you, you ſhall never be full. So likewiſe, as rich as a man is, yet he cannot augment his riches, or keep that he hath, except God be with him, except he bleſs him. Therefore let us not be proud: for we be but beggars the beſt of us (*s*)."

To the ſame effect he ſpeaks elſewhere: We muſt labour; for ſo we are commanded to do: but

(*q*) Ibid. p. 345. (*r*) Ibid. p. 354. (*s*) Ibid. p. 407.

we muſt look for the increaſe at God's hands. For, though a man labour much, yet, for all that, he ſhall have no more than God hath appointed him to have: for even as it pleaſeth God, ſo he ſhall have. For the earth is the Lord's, and all is therein (*t*)."

I have already ſhewn, that Latimer believed that the duration of every man's life is fixed and predeſtinated by God. The good biſhop inculcates the ſame great truth, again and again. "Every man hath a certain time appointed him of God; and God hideth the ſame from us: for ſome die in young age, ſome in old age, according as it pleaſeth him (*u*)."—Once more: "of that we may be ſure, there ſhall not fall one hair from our head, without his will: and we ſhall not die, before the time that God hath appointed unto us. Which is a comfortable thing: eſpecially, in time of ſickneſs, or wars (*w*)."

Latimer very juſtly maintained, that afflictions alſo are an effect of God's predeſtination and providence: from whence he drew this practical concluſion: "Let us learn not to be peeviſh, when God layeth his croſs upon us. Let us not deſpair, but call upon him. Let us think we be ordained unto it (*x*)."—Again, "Seeing that there is nothing done without his will, I ought to bear this croſs which he layeth upon me, without murmuring or grudging (*y*)."

Notwithſtanding Latimer was thus ſo ſtrenuous an aſſertor of God's decrees and providence; we yet find him making uſe of the word chance. But he evidently means, by that term, the occurrence of ſome event, unexpected and unforeſeen by us ourſelves. For, he takes care to let us know, that, by this word, he ſtill intends no other than a providential diſpenſation. "Now," ſays he, "when I come to poverty by chance, ſo that God ſendeth

(*t*) Ibid. p. 654. (*u*) Ibid. p. 429. (*w*) Ibid. p. 430.
(*x*) Ibid. p. 456. (*y*) Ibid. p. 484.

poverty

poverty unto me; then I am bleſſed, when I take poverty well, and without grudging (*z*)."

Every Chriſtian will allow, that the putting of Chriſt to death, was, in itſelf, infinitely the greateſt crime ever perpetrated by man. And yet, ſo abſolute a predeſtinarian was Latimer, that he repreſents this greateſt of crimes as exactly correſponding to the predeſtination and providence of God concerning it. Nay, he even ſuppoſes, that Satan would have hindered the Meſſiah's crucifixion; but was not able to hinder it, becauſe "God's counſel and purpoſe" were, that the Meſſiah ſhould be crucified. Let us attend to Latimer's own words. "After that, when Chriſt was born into the world, he [i. e. Satan] did what he could to rid him [viz. Chriſt] out of the way: therefore he ſtirred up all the Jews againſt him. But, after he perceived that his death [i. e. the death of Chriſt] ſhould be our deliverance from everlaſting death; he [Satan] did what he could to hinder his death; and therefore he ſtirred up miſtreſs Pilate, who took a nap in the morning, as ſuch fine dames are wont to do, that ſhe ſhould not ſuffer her huſband to give ſentence againſt Chriſt. For, as I told you, when he [Satan] perceived that it was to be his [Satan's] deſtruction, he would hinder it, and did what he could, with hand and foot, to ſtop it. But yet he was not able to diſannul the counſel and purpoſe of God (*a*)." —Far be it from me to vindicate the whole of this remarkable paragraph. On the contrary, I think it very exceptionable, in more reſpects than one. But it certainly proves, that Latimer carried his idea of predeſtination to the higheſt pitch it is poſſible for man to do.

'Tis now time, that I ſhould produce his judgment.

(*z*) Ibid. p. 501. (*a*) Ibid. p. 774, 775.

(3.) Concerning original ſin, or man's total fall from God: on which important article, no leſs than on the preceding ones, the doctrine of this reformer was eſſentially different from that embraced by the ſect of Arminius. "It was not for nought," ſays Latimer, that "Jeremiah deſcribeth man's heart in its colours: the heart of man is naughty, and crooked, and a froward piece of work (*b*)." But, how came the human heart to be thus ſpiritually and morally depraved? Latimer traces it all, to the ſin of our firſt parent. "Our fore-father Adam wilfully eat of the apple forbidden. Wherefore he was caſt out of the everlaſting joy in Paradiſe, into this corrupt world, amongſt all vileneſs: whereby of himſelf he was not worthy to do any thing laudable and pleaſant to God; evermore bound to corrupt affections, and beaſtly appetites; transformed into the uncleaneſt and variableſt nature that was made under Heaven: of whoſe ſeed and diſpoſition, all the world is lineally deſcended. Inſomuch that this evil nature is ſo diffuſed, and ſhed from one into another, that at this day there is no man or woman living, that can of themſelves waſh away their abominable vileneſs: and ſo we muſt needs grant of ourſelves to be in like diſpleaſure unto God, as our father Adam was. By reaſon hereof, as I ſaid, we be, of ourſelves, the very children of the indignation and vengeance of God: the true inheritors of Hell, and working all towards Hell. Which is the anſwer to this queſtion, made to every man and woman by themſelves, what art thou (*c*)?"—I will add but one citation more: "This our nature David, the holy king and prophet, deſcribeth with few words, ſaying, Lo, in iniquity am I born, and in ſin hath my mother conceived me. He doth ſignify by his words, what he had inherited of his parent

(*b*) Ibid. p. 139. (*c*) Ibid. p. 907.

Adam;

Adam; namely, ſin and wickedneſs. And he ſpeaketh not of himſelf only, but of all mankind. He painteth us out in our own colours: ſhewing, that we all are contaminate, from our birth, with ſin; and ſo ſhould juſtly be fire-brands in Hell, world without end. This the holy prophet ſhewed in theſe words to put us in remembrance of our own wretchedneſs: to teach us to deſpair of our own holineſs and righteouſneſs, and to ſeek our help and comfort by that Meſſias whom God hath promiſed to our fore-fathers.—Another Scripture ſignifieth to us, farther, what we be of ourſelves, of our own nature: for it is written, all men are liars. Therefore, man is not clean; but full of falſehood, and deceit, and all manner of ſin and wickedneſs; poiſoned and corrupt with all manner of uncleanneſs.—What found he [i. e. God], when he made inquiſition? marry, this: all men have declined from God; there was none that did good, no not one. Here, we may perceive what we be of ourſelves, of our own nature (*d*)."

Such being Latimer's view of original ſin, and its effects; no wonder, that,

(4.) He utterly denied thoſe powers, which Arminians aſcribe to what they term man's free-will.

The unceremonious prelate even goes ſo far as to ſuppoſe, that the will of Satan, and the will of man, are joint warriors againſt the will of God. "We deſire," ſays Latimer, on thoſe words, thy will be done; "We deſire, that he [viz. our heavenly Father] will fortify and ſtrengthen us, ſo that we may withſtand the Devil's will, and our own, which fight againſt God's will (*e*)."—But in vain is the will of God fought againſt: for, as the martyr obſerves in another place, "No man's power is able to ſtand againſt God, or diſappoint him of his purpoſes (*f*)."

(*d*) Ibid. p. 746, 747. (*e*) Ibid. p. 372. (*f*) Ibid. p. 663.

He

He likewiſe pays a very rough compliment to free-will, in the ſubſequent paſſage: "I am, of myſelf, and by myſelf, coming from my natural father and mother, the child of the ire and indignation of God, and the true inheritor of Hell; a lump of ſin, and working nothing of myſelf, but all towards Hell, except I have better help of another than I have of myſelf (*g*)."

What is the influence of this truth, upon the hearts of thoſe who are born again and converted to God? The biſhop ſhall tell us. "Here we may ſee, how much we be bound and indebted to God, who has revived us from death to life, and ſaved us that were damned" [i. e. who were naturally condemned by the divine law]: "which great benefit we cannot well conſider, unleſs we do remember what we were of ourſelves, before we meddled with him and his laws. And the more we know our feeble nature, and ſet leſs by it, the more we ſhall conceive and know in our hearts what God hath done for us: and, the more we know what God hath done for us, the leſs we ſhall ſet by ourſelves, and the more we ſhall love and pleaſe God. So that, in no condition, we ſhall either know ourſelves or God; except we do utterly confeſs ourſelves to be mere vileneſs and corruption (*h*)."

Whoever has ſuch an opinion of human nature and its powers, muſt likewiſe hold, that man is, in no reſpect, nor in any degree, the architect of his own ſalvation. Hence,

(5.) Latimer believed, that, in the whole buſineſs of converſion and ſanctification, God's free and efficacious grace is all in all.—With an eye to this point, we find him expreſsly declaring, that his miniſtry was nothing, unleſs God made it effectual: "Whether it be unfruitful, or no," ſays he, "I cannot tell. It lieth not in me, to make it fruitful.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 903, 904. (*h*) Ibid. p. 903.

If

If God work not in your hearts, my preaching can do but little good (*i*)."

Speaking of ſome, who reviled him for preaching the goſpel, he acknowledged that the grace, by which alone thoſe perſons could be amended, was ſolely at the ſovereign diſpoſal of God himſelf: "As for me, I owe them no ill-will; but I pray God amend them, when it pleaſeth him (*k*)."—— Again: "Preachers can do no more but call: God is he that muſt bring in. God muſt open the hearts, as it is in the Acts of the Apoſtles. When Paul preached to the women, there was a ſilk-woman, whoſe heart God opened. None could open it, but God. Paul could but only preach: God muſt work; God muſt do the thing inwardly (*l*)."

On thoſe words of our Lord, If ye then, being evil, &c.; he obſerves, that Chriſt here "Giveth us our own proper name: he painteth us out; he pincheth us; he cutteth off our combs; he plucketh down our ſtomachs. And here we learn to acknowledge ourſelves to be wicked, and to know him to be the well-ſpring and fountain of all goodneſs, and that all good things come of him (*m*)."—If this is not "pinching" and "cutting the comb" of free-will, I know not what is.

In his third ſermon on the Lord's Prayer, he remarks, that, in the petition of hallowed be thy name, Chriſt "would have us to confeſs our own imperfections, that we be not able to do any thing according to God's will, except we receive it firſt at his hands. Therefore he teacheth us to pray, that God will make us able to do all things according to his will and pleaſure (*n*).— Farther, by this petition, we be put in remembrance what we be, namely, captives of the Devil, his priſoners and bondmen; and not able to come at liberty through our own

(*i*) Ibid. p. 134. (*k*) Ibid. p. 135. (*l*) Ibid. p. 234.
(*m*) Ibid. p. 329. (*n*) Ibid. p. 353.

power.

power (*o*). Wherefore, we may ſay, with St. Auſtin, Lord, do thou with me what thou commandeſt, and then command what thou wilt. For we, of our own ſtrength and power, are not able to do his commandments (*p*)." Latimer, in another place, quotes St. Auſtin's words more exactly: "Like as St. Auguſtin ſaith, Lord, give that thou commandeſt, and then command what thou wilt: as who would ſay, if thou wilt command only, and not give; then we ſhall be loſt, we ſhall periſh (*q*)." Which, by the way, is another proof of Latimer's agreement with Auſtin on the article of grace. One or two teſtimonies more ſhall conclude this head.

"Except a man be born again from above, he cannot ſee the kingdom of God. He muſt have a regeneration. And what is this regeneration? It is not to be chriſtened in water, as theſe firebrands [i. e. the Papiſts] would have it. How is it to be expounded then? St. Peter ſheweth, that one place of Scripture declareth another. St. Peter ſaith, and we be born again. How? not by mortal ſeed, but by immortal. What is this immortal ſeed? By the word of the living God: by the word of God, preached and opened. Thus cometh in our new-birth (*r*). This is a great commendation of this office of preaching. It is God's inſtrument, whereby he worketh faith in our hearts (*s*)."

As Latimer thus believed that men are regenerated, not by themſelves, nor by the mere water of baptiſm, nor ſimply by the word preached, but by the power of God himſelf "working faith in their hearts;" of which ſupernatural power, the word preached is no more than the uſual inſtrument and channel: ſo he taught, that, after the work of regeneration has paſſed upon the ſoul, man's own

(*o*) Ibid. p. 357.
(*p*) Ibid. p. 393.
(*q*) Ibid. p. 453.—*Dòmine, da quod jubes, & jube quod vis.*
(*r*) Ibid. p. 185.
(*s*) Ibid. p. 489.

ability

ability can no more preſerve him in a ſtate of grace, than it could at firſt bring him into it. "St. Paul ſaith, be ſtrong in the Lord. We muſt be ſtrong by a borrowed ſtrength: for we, of ourſelves, are too weak and feeble. Therefore let us learn, where we ſhall fetch our ſtrength from; namely, from above. For we have it not of our own ſelves (*t*)."

"This is a good doctrine, which admoniſheth us to give all praiſe unto God: and not to aſcribe it to our own ſelves (*u*). It ſhall be neceſſary unto all men and women of this world, not to aſcribe unto themſelves any goodneſs of themſelves; but all unto our Lord God (*w*.)" Surely, if Latimer was a free-willer, there is no meaning in words!

(6.) Let us conſult him, next, on the important doctrine of juſtification. According to this good old churchman, juſtification in the ſight of God is abſolutely free, and entirely unmerited by man; and accrues to us, only by an intereſt in the active obedience, or perſonal righteouſneſs, of Jeſus Chriſt.

[1.] For the abſolute freeneſs of juſtification.—"We muſt believe, that our Saviour Chriſt hath taken us again into his favour, that he hath delivered us by his own body and blood, and by the merit of his own paſſion, of his own mere liberality (*x*)."

"Do I now, in forgiving my neighbour his ſins which he hath done againſt me; do I, I ſay, deſerve or merit, at God's hand, forgiveneſs of my own ſins? No, no: God forbid. For, if this ſhould be ſo, then farewell Chriſt. It taketh him clean away. It diminiſheth his honour, and it is very treaſon wrought againſt Chriſt.—Remiſſion of ſins, wherein conſiſteth everlaſting life, is ſuch a treaſure that paſſeth all mens doings. It muſt not be our merits

(*t*) Ibid. p. 517.
(*u*) Ibid. p. 369.
(*w*) Ibid. p. 903.
(*x*) Ibid, p. 228.

that

that ſhall ſerve, but his. He is our comfort; he is the majeſty of God; and his blood-ſhedding it is, that cleanſeth us from our ſins. Therefore, whoſoever is minded contrary unto this, he robbeth Chriſt of his majeſty, and ſo caſteth himſelf into everlaſting danger. As touching our ſalvation, we muſt not go to work, to think to get everlaſting life by our own doings. No. This were to deny Chriſt's ſalvation, and remiſſion of ſins, and his own and free gift (*y*). Thou muſt beware, as I ſaid before, that thou think not to go to Heaven by ſuch remitting of thy neighbour's ill doings. But, by ſuch forgiving, or not forgiving, thou ſhall know whether thou have faith or no (*z*)."

"There be many folk, which, when they be ſick, ſay, O, that I might live but one year longer to make amends for my ſins! Which ſaying is very naught and ungodly: for we are not able to make amends for our ſins. Only Chriſt, he is the Lamb of God which taketh away our ſins. As for ſatisfaction, we cannot do the leaſt piece of it (*a*)."

"Reward! This word ſoundeth as though we ſhould merit ſomewhat by our own works.—But we ſhall not think ſo: for ye muſt underſtand, that all our works are imperfect; we cannot do them ſo perfectly as the law requireth, becauſe of our fleſh which ever letteth us. Wherefore is the kingdom of God called, then, a reward? Becauſe it is merited by Chriſt. For, as touching our ſalvation and eternal life, it muſt be merited: but not by our own works, but only by the merits of our Saviour Chriſt (*b*)."

"All the Papiſts in England, and eſpecially the ſpiritual men [i. e. their prieſts], be the enemies of the croſs of Chriſt, two manner of ways. Firſt, when he is a right Papiſt, given unto monkery, I

(*y*) Ibid. p. 435.
(*a*) Ibid. p. 438.
(*z*) Ibid. p. 437.
(*b*) Ibid. p. 513.

warrant

warrant you he is in this opinion. That with his own works he does merit remiſſion of his ſins, and ſatisfieth the law through and by his own works: and ſo thinks himſelf to be ſaved everlaſtingly. This is the opinion of all Papiſts: and this doctrine was taught, in times paſt [i. e. in the Popiſh times], in ſchools and in the pulpits. Now, all thoſe, that be in ſuch an opinion, are the enemies of the croſs of Chriſt, of his paſſion and blood-ſhedding. For they think in themſelves" [i. e. ſuch an opinion is tantamount to thinking, that] "Chriſt needeth [needed] not to die: and ſo they deſpiſe his bitter paſſion. They do not conſider our birth-ſin, and the corruption of our nature: nor yet do they know the quantity of our actual ſins, how many times we fall into ſin; or how much our own power is diminiſhed, or what might and power the Devil hath. They conſider not theſe things: but think themſelves able with their own works to enter into the kingdom of God. And, therefore, I tell you, this is the moſt perilous doctrine that can be deviſed (*c*). We muſt do good works; we muſt endeavour ourſelves to live according to the commandments of God: yet, for all that, we muſt not truſt in our doings. For, though we do to the uttermoſt, yet it is all imperfect, when ye examine them by the rigour of the law: which law ſerveth [not to juſtify us, but] to bring us to the knowledge of our ſins, and ſo to Chirſt; and, by Chriſt, we ſhall come to the quietneſs of our conſcience. Therefore, it is not more neceſſary to do good works, than it is to beware how to eſteem them. Therefore take heed, good Chriſtian people; deny not Chriſt; put not your hope in your own doings: for if ye do, ye ſhall repent (*d*)."

"He will reward our good works in everlaſting life, but not with everlaſting life; for our works are not ſo much worth, nor ought to be eſteemed ſo,

(*c*) Ibid. p. 555. (*d*) Ibid. p. 557.

as

as to get us Heaven. For it is written, The kingdom of Heaven is the gift of God. So likewiſe St. Paul ſaith, Ye are ſaved freely, without works. Therefore, when ye aſk, Are ye ſaved? Say, yes. How? marry, gratis; freely. And here is all our comfort to ſtay our conſciences (*e*)."

"We read, in a book, which is entitled 'The Lives of the Fathers,' that there was once a great, holy man (as he ſeemed to all the world) worthy to be taken up into Heaven. Now, that man had many diſciples, and, on a time, he fell into a great agony of conſcience; inſomuch that he could not tell in the world what to do. Now, his diſciples ſtanding about him, ſeeing him in this caſe, they ſaid unto him, How chanceth it that ye are ſo troubled, father? for, certainly, there is no body ſo good a liver, or more holy than you have been: therefore you need not fear; for, no doubt, you ſhall come to Heaven. The old father made them anſwer again, ſaying, though I have lived uprightly, yet, for all that, it will not help me, I lack ſomething yet. And ſo he did indeed. For, certainly, if he had followed the counſel of his diſciples, and put his truſt in godly converſation, no doubt he ſhould have gone to the Devil (*f*)."

Biſhop Latimer was immoveably radicated in that great ſcriptural and Proteſtant axiom, that good works do not go before juſtification, but juſtification goes before good works. Hence his following excellent remark: "I pray you note this: we muſt firſt be made good, before we can do good. We muſt firſt be made juſt before our works pleaſe God. For, when we are juſtified by faith in Chriſt, and are made good by him; then cometh our duty, that is, to do good works, to make a declaration of our thankfulneſs (*g*)." Now, if good works cannot poſſibly exiſt, prior to juſtification; it invincibly

(*e*) Ibid. p. 796, 797. (*f*) Ibid. p. 700. (*g*) Ibid. p. 798.

follows,

follows, that juſtification cannot poſſibly be cauſed or conditionated by good works. On the contrary, juſtification is itſelf the cauſe of good works, inſtead of good works being the cauſe of juſtification.

Though Chriſt will, in the laſt day, condeſcend to make mention of the good works which he enabled his people to perform; and will appeal to thoſe works, as evidences of his people's belonging to him; yet the works, ſo appealed to, will not be the ground even of that public and declarative juſtification, which will be predicated of the elect at that awful ſeaſon. So at leaſt good Latimer thought: witneſs his own teſtimony. "If we ſhall be judged after our own deſervings, we ſhall be damned everlaſtingly. Therefore learn here, every good Chriſtian, to abhor this moſt deteſtable and dangerous poiſon of the Papiſts, who go about to thruſt Chriſt out of his ſeat. Learn here, I ſay, to leave all Papiſtry, and to ſtick only to the word of God; which teacheth thee, that Chriſt is not a judge, but a juſtifier, a giver of ſalvation, a taker-away of ſin. For he purchaſed our ſalvation, through his painful death; and we receive the ſame through believing in him: as St. Paul teacheth, ſaying, Freely ye are juſtified, through faith. In theſe words of St. Paul, all merits and eſtimation of works are clean taken away. For, if it were for our works' ſake, then were it not freely. But St. Paul ſaith, freely. Whether will you now believe St. Paul, or the Papiſts (*b*)?"

Nor does this ineſtimable truth lead, in the leaſt, to licentiouſneſs. Let the apoſtolic reformer obviate the unreaſonable ſurmiſe. "But you will ſay, ſeeing we can get nothing with good works, we will do nothing at all; or elſe do ſuch works as ſhall beſt pleaſe us: ſeeing we ſhall have no rewards for our well-doings. I anſwer, we are commanded, by God's

(*b*) Ibid. p. 805, 806.

word, to apply ourſelves to goodneſs every one in his calling: but we muſt not do it, to the end to deſerve Heaven thereby. We muſt do good works, to ſhew ourſelves thankful for all his benefits, which he hath poured upon us; and in reſpect of God's commandment: conſidering, that God willeth us to do well, not to make a merit of it; for this were a denying of Chriſt, to ſay, I will live well and deſerve Heaven. This is a damnable opinion. Let us rather think thus: I will live well, to ſhew myſelf thankful towards my loving God, and Chriſt my redeemer (*i*)." What a double-dyed Antinomian muſt ſuch a writer as biſhop Latimer appear, in the eyes of ſuch jaundiced theologs, as John Weſley and Walter Sellon! Eſpecially when they conſider,

[2.] That according to the biſhop's ſcheme of divinity, the righteouſneſs or perſonal obedience of Jeſus Chriſt, is the ſole meritorious cauſe of this free juſtification.

"Our ſins lett us [i. e. they hinder us], and withdraw us from prayer. But our Saviour maketh them nothing. When we believe in him, it is like as if we had no ſins. For he changeth with us; he taketh our ſins and wickedneſs from us, and giveth us his holineſs, righteouſneſs, juſtice, fulfilling of the law; and ſo, conſequently, everlaſting life. So that we be like as if we had done no ſin at all. For his righteouſneſs ſtandeth us in ſo good ſtead, as though we of ourſelves had fulfilled the law to the uttermoſt (*k*)."

"All faithful and true Chriſtians believe only in his death. They long to be ſaved, through his paſſion and blood-ſhedding. This is all their comfort. They muſt know, and ſtedfaſtly believe, that Chriſt fulfilled the law; and that his fulfilling is theirs. So that they attribute unto Chriſt the getting and meriting of everlaſting life. And ſo it followeth, that they, who attribute the remiſſion of

(*i*) Ibid. p. 814. (*k*) Ibid. p. 321.

ſins,

ſins, the getting of everlaſting life, unto themſelves, or their works; that they deny Chriſt, they blaſpheme and deſpiſe him (*l*)."

"He himſelf had no ſin at all. He ſuffered, to deliver us from everlaſting damnation. He took our ſins, and gave us his righteouſneſs (*m*). Our Saviour is clearly open unto us. He hath ſuffered for us already, and fulfilled the law to the utmoſt: and ſo, by his fulfilling, taken away the curſe of the law (*n*). By his paſſion, which he hath ſuffered, he merited, that as many, as believe in him, ſhall be as well juſtified by him, as though themſelves had never done any ſin, and as though they themſelves had fulfilled the law to the uttermoſt (*o*). He was very man, and was bound to the law. To what end? That he might deliver us from the law, to which we were bound; and that we might receive the right of the children of God by adoption, through God's goodneſs, by his deſerving: that we might have, through his fulfilling of the law, remiſſion of ſins and eternal life. Theſe are the gifts, which he hath deſerved with his keeping of the law (*p*)." Once more: "he was a lamb undefiled, fulfilling the law for us to the uttermoſt; giving us, freely as a gift, his fulfilling to be ours; ſo that we are now fulfillers of the law by his fulfilling. So that the law may not condemn us, for he hath fulfilled it: that we, believing in him, are fulfillers of the law, and juſt, before the face of God (*q*).—— Our unrighteouſneſs is forgiven us through the righteouſneſs of Chriſt: for, if we believe in him, then are we made righteous. When he [God the Father] gave us his only Son, he gave us alſo his righteouſneſs and his fulfilling of the law. So that we are juſtified by God's free gift, and not of our-

(*l*) Ibid. p. 555, 556.
(*m*) Ibid. p. 602.
(*n*) Ibid. p. 604.
(*o*) Ibid. p. 777.
(*p*) Ibid. p. 792.
(*q*) Ibid. p. 808.

ſelves, nor by our merits; but the righteouſneſs of Chriſt is accounted to be our righteouſneſs (*r*)."

The juſtification of God's people, thus founded upon, reſulting from, and ſecured by, the imputed righteouſneſs of Chriſt; this juſtification, according to Latimer, and according to the Scriptures, is abſolute and total. "Our Saviour hath taken away our ſins, ſo that they cannot hurt us. For they be no ſins, in the ſight of God. For he hath taken away the guiltineſs of ſins, and the pains and puniſhments which follow ſins. Chriſt hath deſerved, that thoſe, who believe in him, ſhall be quit from all their ſins (*s*)."

No people are more crumbled into ſub-diviſions among themſelves, than the Arminians. That particular ſort of them, whoſe ſhameleſs and fruitleſs efforts to blacken the Church of England have given riſe to this preſent work, are Arminian-*Perfectioniſts*. I mean Mr. John Weſley, and his junto. For the ſake of theſe people, and by way of demonſtrating, ſtill farther, the palpable falſehood, with which they lay hold on Latimer's robe, and claim him for their kinſman; I will ſubjoin,

[7.] Some part of what this reformer delivers, concerning the doctrine of ſinleſs perfection.

By way of ſubſtratum, let us hear his teſtimony, reſpecting the ſpirituality, perfection, and extent of the moral law revealed in the Scriptures. "If he, [i. e. if Chriſt] had not kept the law, the law had ſuch power, that it would have condemned us all. For ſo it is written: Curſed be he, who abideth not by all that which is written in the law. So that, the leaſt cogitation that we have againſt the law of God, bringeth this curſe upon our heads. So that there was never man, nor ſhall be one, that could remedy himſelf by this law; for it is ſpiritual. It may not be fulfilled, but by the ſpirit. It requireth us to be clean from all ſpot of ſin; from all ill

(*r*) Ibid. p. 870, 871. (*s*) Ibid. p. 336.

thoughts,

thoughts, words, and deeds. But we be carnal; and as St. Paul ſaith, ſold under ſin and wickedneſs: therefore, he concludes thus: By the works of the law no man can be juſtified. As Chriſt did them, they merit: for he did them perfectly, as they ought to be done. But as we do them, they condemn.—And yet the lack is not in the law, but in us. The law of itſelf, is holy and good. But we are not able to keep it: and therefore we muſt ſeek our righteouſneſs, not in the law, but in Chriſt, who hath fulfilled the ſame, and given us freely his fulfilling. And this is the chiefeſt cauſe, why Chriſt would fulfil the law [namely, for our juſtification]. But all the Papiſts think themſelves to be ſaved by the law: and I myſelf have been of that dangerous, perilous, and damnable opinion, till I was thirty years of age. So long I walked in darkneſs, and in the ſhadow of death. And, no doubt, he that departeth out of this world in that opinion, he ſhall never come to Heaven. For, when we will conſider the works of the law, which the law requireth; and, again, how we do them; we ſhall find, that we may not be juſtified by our doings. For the fleſh reigneth in us; it beareth rule, and hindereth the ſpirit: and ſo we never fulfil the law. Certain it is, that they, that believe in Chriſt, have the Holy Ghoſt, which ruleth and governeth them: yet, for all that, there be a great many lacks in them. So that if they would go about to be ſaved by their works, they ſhould come too ſhort: for their works are not able to anſwer the requeſts of the law. The law requireth a perfect righteouſneſs and holineſs. Now, all they that believe in Chriſt, they are holy and righteous: for he hath fulfilled the law, for us which believe in him (*t*)."

Such being the unrelaxing perfection, which the law inflexibly requires: it neceſſarily follows, that

(*t*) Ibid, p. 792, 793, 794.

the ſuppoſition of poſſible perfection on earth, is the moſt fanatic dream, and the moſt gigantic deluſion, which can whirl the brain of an human being. So it appeared to Latimer. "No man born into this world," ſays he, "is without ſin, ſave Chriſt only (*u*).——Who is there, in this world, that hath not need to ſay, Lord, forgive me? No man living. Nor ever was, nor ſhall be, our Saviour only excepted (*w*).——There is neither man, nor woman, that can ſay they have no ſin: for we be all ſinners (*x*).——We be ever in that caſe, that we have ever need to ſay, Lord, forgive us: for we ever do amiſs (*y*).——St. Paul ſaith, let not ſin reign in your corruptible body. He doth not require us, that we ſhould have no ſin, for that is impoſſible unto us; but he requireth, that we be not ſervants unto ſin (*z*).——There is no ſaint in Heaven, neither St. Peter, or Paul, but, when they were here, their nature was corrupt, and given to wickedneſs (*a*).——How doth he [i. e. Chriſt] ſave us from ſin? In this manner: that ſin ſhall not condemn us; ſin ſhall not have the victory over us. He ſaved us, not ſo that we ſhould be without ſin, that no ſin ſhould be left in our hearts: No. He ſaved us not ſo. For all manner of imperfections remain in us; yea in the beſt of us: ſo that, if God ſhould enter into judgment with us, we ſhould be damned. For there neither is, nor was, any man born into this world, who could ſay, I am clean from ſin, except Jeſus Chriſt. Therefore he ſaved us not ſo from ſin, in taking clean away the ſame from us, that we ſhould no more be inclined to it; but rather the power and ſtrength of the ſame ſin he hath ſo vanquiſhed, that it ſhall not be able to condemn thoſe that believe in him: for ſin is remitted, and not imputed, unto believers (*b*)."

(*u*) Ibid. p. 388. (*w*) Ibid. p. 428. (*x*) Ibid. p. 431.
(*y*) Ibid. p. 434. (*z*) Ibid. p. 453. (*a*) Ibid. p. 576.
(*b*) Ibid. p. 803.

They,

They, who, after this, can ſet down biſhop Latimer for a perfectioniſt, may, with equal reaſon, ſet him down for a free-willer.——I proceed,

(8.) To take his vote on the ſubject of univerſal redemption.

His doctrine, concerning redemption itſelf, is, that the people, for whom Chriſt died, are, by his death, totally diſcharged from the puniſhment due to their ſins. "It is," ſays he "much like as if I owed another man twenty thouſand pounds, and ſhould [i. e. muſt] pay it out of hand, or elſe go to the dungeon of Ludgate: and, when I am going to priſon, one of my friends ſhould come, and aſk, whither goes this man? and, after he had heard the matter, ſhould ſay, let me anſwer for him: I will be ſurety for him; yea, I will pay all for him. Such a part played our Saviour Chriſt with us (*c*)." —Elſewhere he repeats the ſame illuſtration; but in yet ſtronger terms: "In ſuch diſtreſs cometh a good friend, and ſaith, Sir, be of good cheer; I will pay thy debts: and forthwith payeth the whole ſum, and ſetteth me at liberty. Such a friend is our Saviour. He hath payed our debts, and ſet us at liberty (*d*)."

From theſe premiſes, it inconteſtibly follows, that not one of thoſe for whom "Chriſt payed all," not one of thoſe for whom he diſcharged "the whole ſum," not one of thoſe whom he died to "ſet at liberty" from puniſhment; can be finally condemned: ſince, if condemned and puniſhed they were to be, either the juſtice of God the Father would fail, or it would not be true that Chriſt had diſcharged "all their debts," and payed off "the whole ſum," and really "ſet them at liberty."—— Hence, it is evident, that according to Latimer's argument, Chriſt was very far from dying for every individual of mankind; it being Latimer's avowed opinion, that very many will, in the laſt

(*c*) Ibid. p. 211. (*d*) Ibid. p. 321.

day, be ſentenced to ſuffer the vengeance of eternal fire. He ſuppoſed, for inſtance, that unpreaching biſhops only will fill up a gap in Hell, of ſeven leagues wide (*e*). Surely, the "debts" of theſe, at leaſt, were not "all paid," nor the debtors "ſet at liberty!" Conſequently, if Latimer may be credited, ſome of mankind muſt have been left unredeemed. Obſerve, I am not here profeſſedly delivering my own opinion. I am only deducing the opinion of Latimer, from Latimer's premiſes.

But his judgment does not ſtand in need of deduction. It has the ſeal and ſanction of his own expreſs declaration. He peremptorily affirms, that Chriſt did not die for ſuch as ſhall be eventually loſt. "Mark here," ſays he, "Scripture ſpeaketh not of (*f*) impenitent ſinners: Chriſt died not for them; his death remedieth not their ſins (*g*)."—Now, if there be any, for whom Chriſt "died not," and whoſe ſins his death "remedieth not;" it follows, that, in this reformer's idea, redemption is not univerſal.

His frequently affirming, that Chriſt expiated the ſins of "the whole world," does by no means claſh with his doctrine in the above paſſages. Indeed, it is ſaying no more than the Scripture has repeatedly ſaid before him. The point of enquiry is, what does that phraſe, the whole world, import? Surely, not every perſon, without exception, who did, does, or ſhall exiſt: for, in that ſenſe of the phraſe, it ſeems impoſſible that Chriſt could die for all. Some, for

(*e*) "If," ſays Latimer, "one were admitted to view Hell thus, and, beholding it thoroughly, the Devil ſhould ſay, On yonder ſide are puniſhed unpreaching prelates; I think, a man ſhould ſee as far as a Kenning, and perceive nothing but unpreaching prelates. He might look as far as Calais, I warrant you." P. 138.

(*f*) By "impenitent ſinners," he neceſſarily means the finally impenitent: ſuch as ſhall actually be baniſhed from the preſence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power, when Chriſt comes to judge the world in righteouſneſs.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 322.

inſtance,

inſtance, in our Lord's time at leaſt, were guilty of that ſin which he himſelf has pronounced abſolutely unpardonable: and would he die for the pardon of thoſe, whoſe ſin, he avers, ſhall never be pardoned? This would be like a man's paying down an ineſtimable ranſom for ſuch as, he knows at the very time of his paying it, neither will nor can ever be ſet at liberty.—Beſides: what ſhall we ſay of thoſe many final impenitents, whoſe departed ſouls had been in the place of torment, ages and ages before Chriſt was crucified at all? Full four thouſand years had elapſed, from the creation, ere the Meſſiah was even manifeſted in the fleſh. And Scripture will not permit us to believe, that the whole of mankind, who died within that extenſive period, were glorified in Heaven. Now, it would both impeach the wiſdom, and affront the dignity of Chriſt, as well as infinitely depreciate the value of his ſacrifice, to ſuppoſe, that he could poſſibly ſhed his blood on the croſs, for thoſe very ſouls, which were, at that very time, ſuffering for their own ſins in Hell. The tenet, therefore, of a redemption abſolutely univerſal, will not ſtand the teſt either of Scripture, reaſon, or the analogy of faith.—Shall we, for example, affirm, that Chriſt died for the ſalvation of Judas? The fact ſeems to be impoſſible. 'Tis plain that Judas ſlew himſelf, ſubſequently to the apprehenſion, but antecedently to the actual crucifixion of Chriſt (*b*). The ſoul of Judas, therefore, went to its own place of puniſhment, before Chriſt had offered himſelf in ſacrifice to God. And I cannot, for my own part, ſee, with what propriety Chriſt

(*b*) This obſervation throws light on that paſſage of Latimer, where he ſays, that Chriſt ſhed as much blood for Judas, as for Peter. Not that Chriſt actually died for Judas (whoſe death was prior to that of Chriſt himſelf): but that the mediator's blood was as much ſufficient (ſo infinite was its value) to have redeemed even Judas, had it been ſhed for that purpoſe, as to have redeemed any other perſon. A ſentiment, to which I ſubſcribe, with heart and hand.

could

could die to ſave a perſon from going to Hell, who was actually there already.

Whether theſe particular topics ever occured to the mind of biſhop Latimer, or not, I will not take upon me to decide. But one would imagine they had: or, at leaſt, that his judgment, concerning the extent of redemption, was determined by conſiderations equally weighty. For, when he ſpeaks of Chriſt's having redeemed the whole world, he takes care to apprize us, that he uſes this large term in a very reſtricted ſenſe. My proofs follow.

"God is not only a private Father, but a common Father unto the whole world, unto all the faithful, be they never ſo poor and miſerable (*i*). ——We know that Chriſt is offered once for us, and that this one offering remedieth all the ſins of the whole world; for he was the Lamb which was killed from the beginning of the world: that is to ſay, all they that believed in him, ſince Adam was created, they were ſaved by him (*k*)." 'Tis plain then, that, by the whole world, Latimer means no more than the whole world of the faithful, the whole world of them that believe.—One more teſtimony ſhall ſtand for all. "He only hath merited, with his painful paſſion, to be a Saviour of the whole world: that is, to deliver all them that believe in him, from their ſins and wickedneſs (*l*)," So ſpeaks Latimer. And Calviniſm ſays the very ſame.

If Chriſt died only for them that (*m*) believe, or in whom faith is wrought; it follows, that faith is an exceeding great and precious gift. It may be worth our while to enquire into Latimer's definition

(*i*) Ibid. p. 332. (*k*) Ibid. p. 557, 558.
(*l*) Ibid. p. 775.
(*m*) No objection can hence ariſe, againſt the ſalvation of ſuch as die in infancy (all of whom are undoubtedly ſaved); nor yet againſt the ſalvation of God's elect among the Heathens, Mahometans, and others. The holy ſpirit is able to inſpire the grace of virtual faith into thoſe hearts (eſpecially at the moment of diſſolution), which are incapable of exerting the explicit act of faith.

of

of what faith is: and the rather, as his definition of faith will conduce, ſtill farther, to demonſtrate, that redemption is, in his judgment, not ſtrictly univerſal, but limited.

"We muſt," ſays this honeſt maſter in Iſrael, "have the right faith, the lively faith, the faith that bringeth ſalvation: which conſiſteth in believing that Chriſt died for my ſins ſake.—I muſt not ſtand in generalities, as to believe that Chriſt ſuffered under Pontius Pilate: but I muſt believe that that was done for my ſake, to redeem with his paſſion my ſins, and all theirs which believe and truſt in him. If I believe ſo, then I ſhall not be deceived (*n*).—I muſt believe, for myſelf, that his blood was ſhed for me (*o*)." Such an account of true faith, as this neceſſarily infers the actual limitation of redemption. For, where is the peculiar privilege of believing that "Chriſt ſhed his blood for me," if it be true, that he actually ſhed his blood for every body? If he redeemed the entire race of mankind, without exempting ſo much as one (which the Arminian doctrine of univerſal redemption ſuppoſes); his blood muſt of courſe have been ſhed for me among the reſt, whether I believe it or no. Where, then, is either the uſe, or the importance of this faith, on the hypotheſis of an unlimited ranſom (*p*)? I conclude, therefore, that the reformer, who has lain down ſuch a definition of "the faith which bringeth ſalvation;" could never, in the very nature of things, ſuppoſe the ranſom to be unlimited. And, indeed, as we have already ſhewn, he himſelf has expreſsly declared, that he did not ſuppoſe it.

But, though he believed redemption not to be abſolutely univerſal, this belief of his did by no

(*n*) Ibid. p. 436. (*o*) Ibid. p. 609.

(*p*) Add to this, that the tenet of univerſal redemption would inſtead of inducing us to ſeek for an application of Chriſt's death to ourſelves in particular, be the ready and effectual way to make us "ſtand in generalities:" which, as we have juſt heard, good Latimer ſo expreſsly cautions us againſt ſtanding in.

means

means ariſe (any more than ours) from a diminutive idea of the worth and value of Chriſt's atonement. He acknowledged its intriſic ſufficiency to redeem every individual of the human ſpecies, though he denied its actual univerſality. Thus he ſpeaks. "Notwithſtanding his death might be ſufficient for (*q*) all the whole world, yet, for all that, no man ſhall enjoy that ſame benefit, but only they that believe in him (*r*)."—And who are they that ſhall believe and be ſaved? Let Latimer anſwer the queſtion. "Therefore he is called Jeſus, becauſe he ſhall ſave his people from their ſins; as the angel of God himſelf witneſſeth (*s*)."

All, that now remains, is,

(9.) To enquire into what he has delivered concerning the doctrine of final perſeverance.

There was a time, when Latimer ſeems to have rather ſymbolized with ſome of the Lutherans, on this article. Luther himſelf did not believe the being of a God, more firmly, than he believed the total and final perſeverance of the regenerate elect. But ſoon after Luther's death, ſome of thoſe Proteſtants, who called themſelves by his name, began to deviate from the purity and ſtrictneſs of that reformer's ſyſtem. One of theſe deviations reſpected the degree of poſſible apoſtacy. A branch of nominal Lutherans begun to teach, that, though a

(*q*) Obſerve, how carefully Latimer varies his phraſeology: he does not ſay, merely, for the whole world; but for all the whole world.——When he affirmed, in the paſſages quoted above (See p. 298.), that Chriſt died for the whole world; he explains his meaning, by adding, all the faithful, all thoſe that believe. But here, when he ſpeaks of the dignity and ſufficiency of Chriſt's propitiation; he enlarges the term, and ſays, for all the whole world. Making it evident, that as, by the whole world, he meant only the world of believers, whom alone he ſuppoſed to be actually redeemed by Chriſt; ſo, by the ſtill more extenſive term of, for all the whole world, he deſigned, in this place, to ſignify all mankind at large: for whoſe redemption, the death of Chriſt was certainly, in itſelf, ſufficient, and ſuper-ſufficient.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 600. (*s*) Ibid. p. 609.

truly

truly ſanctified perſon could not fall finally from grace, he might nevertheleſs fall totally: he might make utter ſhipwreck of faith, for the time being; though he ſhould certainly (by virtue of God's immoveable covenant and election) be regenerated over again, and ſaved at laſt.—Though this was rather a bungling idea of perſeverance, equally illogical and unſcriptural, yet it did not claſh with that part of the Chriſtian ſyſtem which aſſerts the certainty of eventual ſalvation to all true believers: and ſo came infinitely ſhort of the abſurdity of Arminianiſm, which ſuppoſes, not only a total, but a final defectibility of grace; than which nothing can be more monſtrous and prophane.

That Latimer once imagined divine grace in the hearts of the regenerate to be totally (though not finally) defectible, appears from that paſſage, in one of his ſermons, where he ſpeaks of a perſon's being ſometimes in, and ſometimes out of Chriſt and the book of life. The paſſage runs thus: "But you will ſay, how ſhall I know that I am in the book of life? how ſhall I try myſelf to be elected of God to everlaſting life? I anſwer; firſt, we may know, that we may one time be in the book, and another time come out again: as it appeared by David, who was written in the book of life; but, when he ſinned, he was out of the book of the favour of God, until he had repented, and was ſorry for his faults. So we may be in the book one time; and, afterward, when we forget God and his word, come out of the book: that is, out of Chriſt, which is the book. And in that book are written all believers (*t*)."—God forbid, that I ſhould ſo much as wiſh to repreſent any thing differently from what it really is. I acknowledge, that, when Latimer delivered the above paragraph, he ſeemed, on this head, to have co-incided in judgment with the

(*t*) Ibid. p. 846, 847.

new

new Lutherans. And I likewiſe add, that he was the only one of all our Engliſh reformers, who trod in this bye-path. Conſequently, his private opinion, in which he was perfectly ſingular, and abſolutely ſtood alone, affects not the public doctrine of the Church of England.

But if Latimer was, at one time, ſomewhat excentric, in point of total defectibility; he was ſtedfaſt as a rock, and true as a needle to the magnet, in point of final perſeverance. This I aver; and now proceed to prove.

"All they," ſays Latimer, "that believed in Chriſt, ſince Adam was created, were ſaved by him (*u*)."

Speaking of the fear of death, from which many eminent ſaints are not entirely delivered, he thus goes on: "Yea, the elect people of God, the faithful, having the beholding of his face, though God hath always preſerved them (ſuch a good God is he to them that believe in him, that he will not ſuffer them to be tempted above that that they are able to bear); yet, for all that, there is nothing that they complain of more ſore, than this horror of death (*x*)."

To that artful queſtion, aſked by the Papiſts, do you think that all your Catholic fore-fathers are damned? Biſhop Latimer judiciouſly anſwers, that, as many of them as went to Heaven, were ſaved by virtue of God's electing grace, and were finally preſerved by it to life eternal. "To the queſtion, of our forefathers: God knoweth his elect, and diligently watcheth and keepeth them, ſo that all things ſerve to their ſalvation. The nature of fire is, to burn all that is laid in it: yet God kept the three young men in Babylon, that they burnt not. And Moſes ſaw a buſh on fire; but it burnt not. So falſe doctrine burneth as the fire: it corrupteth.

(*u*) Ibid. p. 558. (*x*) Ibid. p. 208.

But

But God kept his elect, that they were not corrupted with it; but always put their truſt in one everliving God, through the death of Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. In Elias's time, idolatry and ſuperſtition reigned: ſo that Elias ſaid, Lord, they have deſtroyed thy altars, and ſlain thy prophets and preachers, and I am left alone. But the Lord anſwered him, I have reſerved to myſelf ſeven thouſand men, who have not bowed their knees to Baal. So God, I truſt, reſerved our fore-fathers, in ſo perilous times, more graciouſly than we can think (*y*)."

According to this good man, Satan is an enemy whom every true believer is certain of overcoming. "The Devil hath no farther power than God will allow him. The Devil can go no farther, than God permitteth him to do. Which thing ſhall ſtrengthen our faith: inſomuch that we ſhall be ſure to overcome him (*z*)."—God "is able to help us in our diſtreſs, and grant our requeſts. And though theſe be great things, yet we need not to deſpair; but conſider that he is Lord over Heaven and earth, that he is able to do for us, and that he will do ſo, being our Father and our Lord, and King over all things (*a*)."

Latimer very rightly deduces the final perſeverance of the ſaints, from the love which God bears in Chriſt to his believing people. "In the prophets, every where, he ſetteth out his great love which he hath towards us, ſaying, can a woman forget her own child, which ſhe hath born into the world? yea, and though ſhe do forget the ſame, yet I will not forget thee. It is a rare thing, when the Devil ſo much prevaileth in parents, that a mother ſhould neglect or forget her own child. Yet, ſaith God, though it were ſo, that ſhe could forget her child, yet will not I forget thee when thou believeſt in my ſon Chriſt. For the Devil cannot prevail againſt me, though he

(*y*) Ibid. p. 261. (*z*) Ibid. p. 463. (*a*) Ibid. p. 466.

prevail

p evail againſt [ſuch] women, ſo that ſometimes they forget their own children, or kill them: yet he ſhall not prevail againſt me, for I am mightier than he is (*b*)." This is hinging the queſtion on the right point. While God perſeveres in his love to the ſaints, the ſaints cannot but perſevere in the grace of God. So that God himſelf muſt ceaſe to perſevere, ere they can.

Latimer juſtly obſerves, that the comfort of faith may be ſuſpended, though the grace of faith is perpetual and inamiſſible. "It is ſaid, in Scripture, that God leadeth [as it were] into Hell, and bringeth up again. And ſo it is with ſuch fearful men: for God doth caſt them into Hell, [i. e.] he hideth himſelf from them; but at length he bringeth them out again, and eſtabliſheth them with a conſtant faith, ſo that they may be ſure of their ſalvation and everlaſting life. I knew once a woman, who was ſeventeen years in ſuch an exſtacy and fear: but at length ſhe recovered again, and God endued her with a ſtrong and ſtedfaſt faith in the end (*c*)."

Nothing can be more comfortable to an awakened mind, than this bleſſed infallibility of perſeverance. "This is now an exceeding comfort to all Chriſtian people: for they may be aſſured, that when they believe in Chriſt, and Chriſt taketh their parts, there ſhall be nothing, neither in Heaven nor in earth, that ſhall be able to hurt them, or lett [i. e. hinder] them of their ſalvation (*d*)."—Again: "By this text [viz. he that ſpared not his own Son, &c.] it appeareth, that he that hath Chriſt hath all things: he hath Chriſt's fulfilling of the law: he hath remiſſion of his ſins; and ſo, conſequently, everlaſting life. Is not this a comfort (*e*)?"

"Whoever thus believeth, miſtruſting himſelf and his own doings, and truſting in the merits of

(*b*) Ibid. p. 575. (*c*) Ibid. p. 670. (*d*) Ibid. p. 692.
(*e*) Ibid. p. 795.

Chriſt;

Chriſt; he ſhall get the victory over death, the devil, and hell: ſo that they ſhall not hurt him, neither all their powers be able to ſtand againſt any of thoſe who are in Chriſt Jeſus (*f*). Who is a juſt man? he is juſt, that believeth in our Saviour. For, as you have heard before, thoſe, who believe in Chriſt, are juſtified before God: they are clean delivered from all ſins, and therefore may be called juſt; for ſo they are, in the ſight of God. Such, ſaith the Prophet, he hath never ſeen forſaken of God (*g*)."

So far was Latimer from not holding the final perſeverance of true believers, that he held it ſinful in true believers to doubt of their own final perſeverance. "We muſt always conſider that God is able to ſave us, and believe undoubtedly that he will ſave us. So that, when I am ſick, as is ſaid before, I may doubt whether God will deliver me from my ſickneſs, or no: but I may not doubt of everlaſting life (*h*)."

He conſidered the doctrine of perſeverance, as a powerful ſupport and conſolation, under even the outward afflictions of the preſent life. Chriſt "Is every where: and will be with us unto the end of the world, as he promiſed to his apoſtles after his reſurrection, ſaying, Lo, I will be with you until the end of the world. Which is the greateſt comfort that may be, unto a Chriſtian heart: for it is a ſtay to all trouble (*i*)."

Perſeverance is but another name for retaining the grace of God. And, according to Latimer, grace is retained by all who are made truly good. "To retain is the property of the good ſeed. Therefore if thou canſt find the keeping of God's moſt holy word in thy heart, then thou art in the good ground, and ſhalt bring forth much fruit: thou ſhalt keep the word of God with patience. For God hath ever a church: and thoſe that be of the church, will keep his word with patience (*k*)."—Such,

(*f*) Ibid. p. 809. (*g*) Ibid. p. 818. (*h*) Ibid. p. 844.
(*i*) Ibid. p. 851. (*k*) Ibid. p. 900, 901.

therefore, as do not keep it with patience or perſeverance, were never of God's church, but reprobates and hypocrites.

Were I to adduce all biſhop Latimer's aſſertions in behalf of final perſeverance, they would amount to a little volume. The three following ſhall cloſe the ſubject.

"We may learn here [viz. from Matth. viii. 23, &c.], that the ſhip ſignified the congregation of Chriſt and his church. The diſciples, being in the ſhip, are preſerved, through Chriſt. So all thoſe which are in the church of Chriſt, ſhall be ſaved and preſerved by him. The others, which are without this church [i. e. the reprobate], ſhall be damned and periſh (*l*)."

"If thou believeſt in him, then thou art written in the book of life, and ſhall be ſaved (*m*)."

"The Lord knoweth which are his. Alſo Chriſt himſelf ſaith, No man ſhall take thoſe from me, whom my Father hath given to me: that is to ſay, which are ordained to everlaſting life (*n*)."

Thus have I lain before the reader ſome (and only ſome) of thoſe proofs, which are on record, of biſhop Latimer's Calviniſm. And I have done it, with much more amplitude, than I otherwiſe ſhould, for this plain reaſon; viz. To ſhew, that, though this worthy martyr was (as already obſerved) by far the moſt unlearned, and by much the leaſt guarded and accurate, among the whole choir of Engliſh reformers; ſtill he was in reality, a Calviniſt, a ſtrict Calviniſt, a zealous Calviniſt, and, in moſt reſpects, a conſiſtent Calviniſt.

I have produced upwards of an hundred paſſages from Latimer himſelf, in ſupport of the above aſſertion: and, if need had required, could have augmented the liſt with an hundred more. But enough has been alledged, to turn the balance of

(*l*) Ibid. p. 855. (*m*) Ibid. p. 846. (*n*) Ibid. p. 564.

Latimer's

Latimer's teſtimony on the ſide of our eſtabliſhed doctrines. Though a million of Weſleys and Sellons, with their whole ragged regiment of coblers, tinkers, ſhoe-blacks, and old women, were to hang by the oppoſite ſcale; they would all mount and ſprawl aloft in air, till they tumbled off in cluſters, not without execrating the inſuperable gravity of Latimer and the Church of England.

Some readers, perhaps, may think, I have been too extenſive and diffuſe, in my quotations from this venerable biſhop. If the reaſon, already aſſigned, will not avail for my apology, the only farther amends, I am able to make, is, to promiſe, that my extracts, from each of the remaining reformers, ſhall be leſs prolix.

SECTION XIV.

The Judgment of our Engliſh Reformers concluded.

IV. DOCTOR John Hooper, biſhop of Glouceſter and Worceſter, comes next to be conſidered. He was born in Somerſetſhire, A. D. 1495; and received the academical part of his education at Merton College, Oxford. The exact time of his converſion to the Proteſtant faith, is unknown: but it certainly was previous to the year 1539. For, upon the paſſing of the ſix bloody articles into a ſtatute, which happened in that year, we find Mr. Hooper quitting England for the ſake of a good conſcience, and wandering, like a partridge hunted on the mountains, firſt into France, Ireland, and Holland; and from thence to Switzerland: in which latter, he lived partly at Baſil, and partly at Zurich,

where he became intimately acquainted with the learned Bullinger.

On the death of Henry VIII. in 1547, our venerable exile returned to his native country. Prior to his ſetting out from Zurich, he dropt a very remarkable expreſſion, in his parting interview with Bullinger. "In all probability," ſaid Bullinger, "king Edward will raiſe you to a biſhopric. If ſo, don't ſuffer your elevation to make you forgetful of your old friends in Switzerland. Let us, from time to time, have the ſatisfaction of hearing from you." Hooper anſwered, "No change of place, or of ſtation, no acceſſion of new friends, ſhall ever render me unmindful of yourſelf and my other benefactors here. You may depend on my carefully correſponding with you. But it will not be in my power, to write you an account of the laſt news of all: for" [taking Bullinger by the hand], "others will inform you of my being burned to aſhes in that very place where, in the mean while, I ſhall labour moſt for God and the goſpel (*o*)." The holy man was not miſtaken in his prediction. Glouceſter was, afterwards, the principal ſeat of his religious labours; and, at Glouceſter, he ſealed thoſe labours with his blood, Feb. 9, 1555, in the 60th year of his age: being, as Burnet (*p*) obſerves, the firſt of our Proteſtant biſhops that ſuffered death for the goſpel.

He is univerſally allowed to have been eminently pious, extenſively learned, and of the moſt unimpeachable morals. A noble inſtance of the ſteadineſs and impartiality, with which he laboured to diſcountenance vice, occurs in the hiſtory laſt referred to. Being in his dioceſe of Glouceſter, he denounced the cenſures of the church againſt ſome perſons of inferior ſtation, who had been convicted of open lewdneſs. One of them had the courage to ſay to him, we poor people muſt do penance for

(*o*) See Fox, vol. iii. p. 119. (*p*) Refor. vol. iii. p. 240.

theſe

theſe things; while great and rich men, though as guilty as ourſelves, are ſuffered to eſcape unpuniſhed and unnoticed. The biſhop anſwered, name any perſon, how great ſoever, who can be convicted of adultery; and I will give you leave to uſe me as roughly as you pleaſe, if I do not proceed againſt him with all the ſeverity of juſtice. The intrepid prelate was ſoon as good as his word: for, in a few days after, he cited Sir Anthony Kingſton, a man of high conſequence in that country, into the Eccleſiaſtical Court: and though, for ſome time, the knight behaved with great haughtineſs and outrage, he was at laſt forced to do penance, and pay a fine of 500l. beſides (*q*).

As Dr. Hooper was thus a reſolute aſſertor of virtue, ſo he aſſerted, with no leſs reſolution, thoſe grand evangelical doctrines, from the experimental belief of which, all genuine virtue flows.—He obſerves, that, in Heaven, the ſouls of the faithful are "for ever praiſing the Lord, in conjunction and ſociety everlaſting with the bleſſed company of God's elect, in perpetual joy (*r*)."—And he mentions it, as one capital inſtance of the patience of God's people on earth, that "They wait until the number of the elect be fulfilled (*s*)".—With an eye to the ſame precious doctrine of election, he adds, in a letter, written a few weeks before his martyrdom, that the glorified ſpirits of them who had, in all ages, ſuffered death for the cauſe of Chriſt, were joyfully expecting the happy day, "When they ſhall receive their bodies again in immortality, and ſee the number of the elect aſſociated with them in full and conſummate joys (*t*)."

He is equally explicit, as to the neceſſity of grace. He juſtly obſerves, that true contentment under affliction, is the fruit of ſupernatural regeneration.

(*q*) Burnet, Ibid. p. 209, 210. (*r*) Fox, iii. 132.
(*s*) Ibid. p. 133. (*t*) Ibid. p. 135.

"It is not the nature of man that can be contented, until it be regenerated and poſſeſſed with God's ſpirit, to bear patiently the troubles of the mind, or of the body (*u*)."—Again: "Theſe things" [viz. the knowledge and love of heavenly objects] "are eaſy to be ſpoken of, but not ſo eaſy to be practiſed. Wherefore, ſeeing they be God's gifts, and none of ours to have of our own when we would, we muſt ſeek them at our Heavenly Father's hand (*x*).—Howbeit, no man of himſelf can do this" [i. e. can pray and hope aright]; "but the ſpirit of God, that ſtriketh the man's heart with fear, prayeth for the man ſtricken and feared, with unſpeakable groanings (*y*)."—Once more: "Chriſt ſaith to every one of his people, by your own patience ye ſhall continue your life: not that man hath patience in [i. e. of] himſelf, but that he muſt have it for himſelf of God, the only giver of it (*z*)."

On the great article of juſtification alſo, Hooper was a thorough Calviniſt. This appears from the confeſſion of faith (an extract of which is preſerved in Burnet), which was ſigned, not only by Hooper himſelf, but by two biſhops beſides, and ſeven eminent miniſters; all, at that time, priſoners for the goſpel: viz. Coverdale, biſhop of Exeter; Farrar, biſhop of St. David's; with Taylor, Philpot, Bradford, Crome, Sanders, Rogers, and Lawrence. In this excellent declaration, the heroic ſufferers publicly certified, that they "held juſtification by faith: which faith," ſaid they, "is not only an opinion, but a certain perſuaſion, wrought by the Holy Ghoſt, which doth illuminate the mind, and ſupple the heart to ſubmit itſelf unfeignedly to God." They add, that they "acknowledged an inherent righteouſneſs; yet, they believed, that juſtification, and pardon of ſins, came only by Chriſt's righteouſneſs imputed to them (*a*)."

(*u*) Ibid. p. 131. (*x*) Ibid. p. 132. (*y*) Ibid.
(*z*) Ibid. p. 133. (*a*) Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. vol. ii. p. 265.

Let

Let me, next, ſubjoin a word or two, concerning Hooper's doctrine of providence. "God," ſays he, "hath ſuch care and charge of us, that he will keep, in the midſt of all troubles, the very hairs of our head: ſo that one of them ſhall not fall away, without the will and pleaſure of our Heavenly Father. Whether the hair, therefore, tarry on the head, or fall from the head, it is the will of the Father (*b*)."—Again: "They" [i. e. all afflictions] "be ſervants of God, to go and come as he commandeth them (*c*)."—Once more: "Of this I am aſſured, that the wicked world, with all its force and power, ſhall not touch one of the hairs of our heads, without leave and licence of our Heavenly Father (*d*)."

A ſpecimen of what he advances, reſpecting final perſeverance, ſhall for the preſent, conclude his teſtimony. To a company of Proteſtants, who had been ſurprized at a religious meeting, and committed to priſon, he thus wrote: "God will go in and out with you, and will be preſent in your hearts and in your mouths.——He that hath begun that work in you, will ſurely ſtrengthen you in the ſame (*e*)."——In a letter to his own lady, he ſays; "Remember, that although your (*f*) life, as all Chriſtian men's be, be hid, and appeareth not, what it is; yet it is ſafe (as St. Paul ſaith) with God in Chriſt: and when Chriſt ſhall appear, then ſhall our lives be made open [i. e. be rendered conſpicuous] with him in glory (*g*)."—He adds, a little lower: we may be tempted of the Devil, the fleſh, and the world; but yet, although theſe things pinch, they do not pierce: and though they work ſin in us, yet in Chriſt no damnation to thoſe that be grafted

(*b*) Fox, vol. iii. p. 131. (*c*) Ibid. p. 132. (*d*) Ibid. p. 134.
(*e*) Strype's Eccles. Memor. vol. iii. Append. No. 27. p. 78.
(*f*) He means, the ſoul of each perſon who is regenerated by the Holy Ghoſt.
(*g*) Fox, u. ſ. p. 132.

in him. Hereof may the Chriſtian man learn both conſolation and patience. Conſolation, in that [notwithſtanding] he is compelled, both in his body and goods, to feel pain and loſs; and, in ſoul, heavineſs and anguiſh of mind; howbeit, none of them both ſhall ſeparate him from the love that God beareth him in Chriſt. He may learn patience, foraſmuch as his enemies, both of body and ſoul, and the pains alſo they vex us withal for the time; if they tarry with us long as we live, yet, when death cometh, they ſhall avoid, and give place to ſuch joys as be prepared for us in Chriſt (*b*)."—To one Mrs. Anne Warcop, who was in danger on account of the goſpel, the holy biſhop wrote as follows: "I did rejoice, at the coming of this bearer, to underſtand of your conſtancy; and that you are fully reſolved, by God's grace, rather to ſuffer extremity, than to go from the truth of God which you have profeſſed. He that gave you grace to begin ſo infallible a truth, will follow you in the ſame unto the end (*i*)."

From biſhop Hooper, I paſs on,

V. To Doctor Martin Bucer: a man, whoſe diſcretion, mildneſs and benevolence, procured him the name of "the moderate reformer;" and whoſe admirable talents obliged even Voſſius to ſtyle him, *Ter Maximum Bucerum*. His judicious labours, during his reſidence in this kingdom, greatly aſſiſted in the reformation of our church, at home; and his learned pen was, no leſs zealouſly and ſucceſsfully, engaged, in defending and vindicating her doctrine, worſhip, and diſcipline, from the calumnies of Papiſts, and from the ill-judged exceptions of ſome foreign Proteſtants, abroad. Taking every thing into the account, he was, perhaps, in point of temper, conduct, and abilities, one of the moſt amiable and unexceptionable divines that ever lived:

(*b*) Ibid. (*i*) Ibid. p. 135.

though

though few perſons have been more inſulted and traduced by bigots of all denominations.

He was born, A. D. 1491, at Scheleſtadt, in Alſace. In his early part of life he entered himſelf of the order of Dominican Friars; but, after a time, God ſhewed him a more excellent way. Some writings of Eraſmus are ſaid (*k*) to have given his mind the firſt ſhock againſt Popery. His doubts were afterwards improved into a full conviction of the truth, by the books of Luther. As Luther's writings had driven the nail to the head; ſo ſome perſonal interviews, which Bucer had with that reformer, firſt at Heildelberg, and then at Worms, in 1521, clinched the nail ſo effectually, that Bucer determined from that time forward, to profeſs the doctrines of the goſpel more openly than ever. The converſations of theſe two great men, during thoſe memorable interviews, appear to have turned chiefly on the articles of free-will and juſtification.

In the year 1548, Bucer was (not at the recommendation of Melancthon, but at the recommendation of archbiſhop (*l*) Cranmer) invited, by king Edward, from Straſburg to England. The learned Fagius was invited at the ſame time; and accompanied Bucer hither. Being arrived, Bucer was made divinity-profeſſor at Cambridge; with a ſalary, treble to what any of his predeceſſors had enjoyed. "Theſe grave and learned Doctors," ſays Mr. Strype, meaning Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr, "were placed there [viz. in the two Univerſities; Bucer at Cambridge, and Martyr at Oxford]; the Lord Protector and the archbiſhop judging them the fitteſt perſons to inform the ſtudents in their notions and doctrines concerning religion. Becauſe,

(*k*) Melch. Adam. Vit. Theolog. German. p. 211.—Edit. Heidelb. 1620.

(*l*) See Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. p. 121.—Alſo, Melch. Adam. p. 219.

as

as they were very learned in other ſciences; ſo, in divinity, they took the Holy Scripture for their guide, and gathered their tenets from no other authority but from thence; according to the conſtant principle of the great and good archbiſhop (*m*)."— I ſhall quickly ſhew, that the archbiſhop and the Lord Protector were not miſtaken, in their favourable opinion of the two celebrated foreigners; and that theſe illuſtrious divines did indeed "gather their tenets from no other authority but the Holy Scriptures."

But Bucer's buſineſs in England, and that of Martyr, was not reſtrained to the divinity-chairs of Cambridge and Oxford, or to the inſtruction of the youth who were to ſerve in the miniſtry of this Proteſtant Church. Thoſe learned profeſſors had likewiſe an hand in the reformation and ſettlement of the Church herſelf. Even the fierce-flaming and high-flying Mr. Samuel Downes, notwithſtanding all his redundant bitterneſs againſt Calviniſm, both foreign and domeſtic, is compelled to own (though with grievous reluctance, and with no little mincing and twiſting), that the liturgy itſelf was ſubmitted to the judgment and correction of Bucer and Martyr. Theſe divines, ſays Mr. Downes, "Being men of great learning, and of a moderate and peaceable diſpoſition, had been invited over by archbiſhop Cranmer: and had, by their prudent carriage, and affection to our regular conſtitution, which they had given a remarkable inſtance of in their anſwers to Hooper's ſcruples concerning the epiſcopal habit, ſo well recommended themſelves to the eſteem of our biſhops; that it was thought expedient to lay a Latin tranſlation of the liturgy before them, and deſire their opinion concerning what explanations, or emendations, were requiſite to be made (*n*)." Thus

(*m*) Strype, ubi ſupra.
(*n*) Downes's Lives of the Comp. p. 175, 176.

far,

far, all is fair, candid and true. And, if this be indeed (as indeed it is) a juſt ſtate of the fact; I ſhould be glad to know, with what propriety and conſiſtency the Arminian life-compiler has ſubjoined, in the very next words to thoſe laſt cited, "But there is a wide difference between aſking their advice, and adding, or omitting, according to their humour and fancy." Is not this, indirectly, ſaying that Bucer and Martyr were humourſome, fanciful men? And how does ſuch an unjuſt and ungenerous implication comport with the character which this very writer has, a moment before, given of theſe very perſons, viz. That "their diſpoſition was peaceable and moderate, that their carriage was prudent, and their affection to our regular conſtitution ſo remarkable as to recommend them to the eſteem of the reforming biſhops?"—It does not appear, that either Bucer or Martyr had any ſingularity, either of "humour," or of "fancy," to indulge. On the contrary, their modeſty and moderation were known to all men, and have preſſed even Mr. Downes himſelf into an acknowledgment of both. It may be aſked, Did the Engliſh reformers actually make any alterations in the book of Common Prayer, conformably to the judgments of Martyr and Bucer? I anſwer, yes. And the aforeſaid Mr. Downes ſhall ſecond my teſtimony. Though, through an exceſs of bigotry, he faulters in pronouncing his evidence, ſtill the evidence itſelf is full to the point. "If ſome particulars were altered agreeable to their judgment, it was, becauſe our biſhops thought the reaſons, which they [i. e. which Martyr and Bucer] gave, for making thoſe alterations, concluſive and convincing (*o*)." Admitted.—It remains, then, that theſe two foreign Calviniſts were actually concerned in the modeling of our Engliſh liturgy: and conſequently, that they

(*o*) Ibid. p. 176.

had

had ſome hand in the reformation of the Church of England.

But were they indeed doctrinal Calviniſts? Let their own works anſwer the queſtion. I ſhall begin with Bucer: and cite his obſervations, not under diſtinct heads, but in the ſame order as I extracted them, from ſuch of his books as I could have preſent recourſe to.

"Predeſtination," ſays Bucer, "is neither more nor leſs than pre-limitation, or fore-appointment: and God, who conſigns every thing to its proper uſe, worketh all things agreeably to his own pre-determination; and, accordingly, ſeparates one thing from another, ſo as to make each thing anſwer to its reſpective uſe. If you deſire a more extenſive definition of this predeſtination, take it thus: predeſtination is an appointment of every thing to its proper uſe; by which appointment, God doth, before he made them, even from eternity, deſtine all things whatever to ſome certain and particular uſe. Hence it follows, that even wicked men are predeſtinated. For, as God forms them out of nothing, ſo he forms them to ſome determinate end: for he does all things, knowingly, and wiſely. The Lord hath made all things for himſelf, even the wicked for the day of evil [Prov. xvi. 4]. Divines, however, do not uſually call this, predeſtination; but reprobation.—'Tis certain, that God makes a good uſe of evil itſelf: and every ſin we commit, hath ſomething in it of the good work of God (*p*).—Scripture does not heſitate to affirm, that there are ſome perſons, whom God delivers over to a reprobate ſenſe, and whom he forms for deſtruction: why, therefore,

(*p*) Every ſin we commit, has ſomething in it of the good work of God. I cannot clearly underſtand, what Bucer intends by this extraordinary, and ſeemingly harſh mode of expreſſion. Be his meaning what it may, the reader will obſerve, as uſual, that I am not advancing the above propoſition, as my own; but ſimply quoting the words of another.

ſhould

ſhould it be deemed derogatory from God, to aſſert, that he not only does this, but reſolved beforehand to do it (*q*)?"

Nothing can be more plain and nervous, than the following remarks of Bucer, reſpecting God's obduration of Pharaoh. Whether the remarks be, or be not, carried too far, is beyond my province to enquire. "The apoſtle ſays, Who may reſiſt the will of God? By the word will, Paul gives us to underſtand, that God actually willeth thoſe very things, unto which men are hardened by him.—When Paul adds, Who may reſiſt? he, in fact, points out the neceſſity, which they, whom God hardens, are under, of doing thoſe things. When God would harden Pharaoh, in order that he might not obey the commandment, it was the actual will of God that Pharaoh ſhould not obey. Yea, God himſelf wrought in Pharaoh to oppoſe the commandment ſent him. Pharaoh, therefore, did what God in reality willed him to do; yea, he did no more than what God himſelf had wrought in him: nor was it in Pharaoh's power, to act otherwiſe than he did." Such was the doctrine, taught by this able and courageous Cambridge profeſſor. Willing, however, to obviate any exceptions, which

(*q*) "Alioqui, quum προορισμὸς fit ſimpliciter prefinitio, et Deus prefenitò agat omnia, nihil non ad ſuum uſum deputans; atque ità ab aliis rebus, quantùm ad iſtum ſuum uſum attinet, ſeperat. Si in genere definire hanc prefinitionem veliis, erit, rei cujuſque ad ſuum uſum deputatio, quâ Deus ſingula, antequàm condiderit, ab æterno, ad certum aliquem uſum deſtinat. Hinc, et malorum quoque prædeſtinatio eſt. Nam ſicut et hos ex nihilo fingit Deus, ità fingit ad certem finem: ſapientèr enim facit omnia.——Fecit Deus omnia propter ſemetipſum, etiam impium ad diem malum. Sed hanc theologi non ſuſtinent vocare, prædeſtinationem; ſed vocant, reprobationem.———Nullo certè malo Deus non benè utitur: et nihil eſt, quod nos peccamus, in quo non ſit aliquod bonum opus Dei.—Scriptura non veretur dicere, Deum tradere quoſdam homines in reprobum ſenſum, et agere in perniciem. Quid igitur indignum Deo, aicere, etiam ſtatuiſſe antea, ut illos in ſenſum reprobum traderet, et ageret in perniciem?" Bucer. Enarr. Ep. ad Rom. p. 410. Edit. Baſil. 1562.

thoſe

thoſe perſons might raiſe, who had not ſtudied theſe deep points ſo carefully and ſo extenſively as he had been enabled to do; he, preſently after, ſhelters both his doctrine and himſelf under the following words, and the correſpondent practice, of the great apoſtle whom he had quoted before: "Nay but, O man! [who art thou that replieſt againſt God?] St. Paul does not accommodate, nor ſoften down, a ſingle ſyllable of what he had juſt aſſerted. The ſacred penman does not deny, that they, who are hardened by God, periſh according to the will of God. The apoſtle does not admit it to be even poſſible, that a perſon, who is hardened from above, can perform what is good. Paul [inſtead of ſetting himſelf to anſwer our vain reaſonings on the matter], contents himſelf with merely giving us a ſolemn caution, not to ſit in judgment on the decrees of God: aſſuring us, that we cannot arraign the Deity at our own bar, without being guilty of the uttermoſt boldneſs and impiety (*r*)." If Bucer was not a Calviniſt, where ſhall we find one?

I cannot prevail on myſelf to defraud the reader of a few more citations, which I lately extracted from another moſt valuable work of Bucer, entitled, A continued Interpretation of the Four Goſpels. And I the rather ſubjoin them, as the book itſelf is exceeding ſcarce, though I have been ſo happy as to meet with it in a neighbouring library.

(*r*) "Voluntati ejus quis reſiſtat? Voluntatem cùm dicit, notat, Deum ea velle, ad quæ homines indurat. Cùm addit, quis reſiſtat? indicat neceſſitatem faciendi ea, quæ fert induratio. Cùm Deus Pharaonem induraret, nè juſſui ſuo obtemperaret; voluit utique illum juſſui ſuo non obtemperare: imò, ut ei repugnaret, ipſe in eo effecit. Fecit itaque Pharao, quod Deus volebat eum facere: imò, quod ipſe faciebat in eo: nec potuit aliud. Quinimo, O homo! Apoſtolus nihil mitigat dictorum. Non negat, Dei voluntate perire, quos indurat Deus. Non facit poſſibile homini, ut benefaciat induratus. Sed deturret tantùm et depellit ab eo, ut judicia Domini judicemus: oſtendens, hoc eſſe extremæ impudentiæ et impietatis." Bucer. ibid. p. 456.

"They,

"They, who are at any time able to fall quite away from Chriſt, did never really belong to him. Conſequently, they never truly believed, nor were indeed pious, nor had the holy ſpirit of adoption: on the contrary, all their performances were nothing but hypocriſy, how ſanctified and ready ſoever unto good works they, for a time, pretended to be. They, whom Chriſt loves, are loved by him even unto the end: and he doth not caſt away thoſe whom the Father giveth him; neither can any ſnatch them from his hand. Therefore, admitting that theſe may fall, yet they cannot fall utterly; for they are elect unto life: and God's election cannot be made void by any creature whatever. Seeing, then, that the purpoſe of God, according to election, may ſtand, not of works, but of him that calleth [Rom. ix. 11.]; he not only elected his own people, before they were born, and had done either good or evil [Rom. ix. 11.], but even before the very foundations of the world [Eph. i. 4.]. Hence, our Lord ſaid, concerning his apoſtles, I pray not for the world, but for them whom thou haſt given me; for they are thine: that is, they were choſen by thee unto life. As, therefore, on one hand, Chriſt never knew [i. e. never loved] the reprobate, whatever deceitful appearance of virtue they might have; ſo, on the other, he always knew [i. e. always loved] the elect, how ungodly ſoever they might ſeem for a time. Conſequently, as theſe [i. e. the elect] are predeſtinated and called, they ſhall, ſooner or later, be formed anew, according to the likeneſs of Chriſt: while thoſe [i. e. the reprobate] ſhall be ſtripped of that artificial maſk, under which they paſſed for children of God; and be made to appear in their own proper colours (*s*)."

On

(*s*) "Clarè docemur, qui aliquandò à Chriſto poſſunt excidere, eos Chriſti nunquam fuiſſe: eòque nunquam verè credidiſſe, aut fuiſſe pios, nunquam ſpiritûs filiorum fuiſſe nactos: ſed omnia illorum

On thoſe words of Chriſt, Ye believe not, becauſe ye are not of my ſheep; Bucer thus remarks: "They were not of our Lord's ſheep, i. e. they were not in the number of thoſe who were given to him by the Father; they were not elected unto life. Therefore it was, that they were totally deſtitute of God's good ſpirit, and were utterly immerſed in fleſh: neither were they able to believe in our Lord, nor to embrace him as a Saviour (*t*)."

A little farther on, we find this admirable commentator obſerving as follows: "My ſheep hear my voice, &c. In theſe words our Lord expreſsly teaches, that all good things are dependent on God's election: and that they, to whom it is once given to be ſheep, can never periſh afterwards. Chriſt here tells us, that they alone hear his voice: that is, they, who are indeed his ſheep, are made partakers of faith. Now, whence is it, that ſome people are Chriſt's ſheep, or ſuſceptible of his doctrine; while others are not?

lorum nil niſi hypocriſin eſſe, quantumlibet ſancti, et pietate præſtabiles, ad tempus, ſeſe fingant. Quos enim Chriſtus diligit, in finem uſque diligit: et quos pater illi dat, neque ipſe abjicit; neque rapere de manu ejus quiſquam poteſt. Ideò etſi cadant hujuſmodi, excidunt tamen nunquam. Electi enim ſunt ad vitam: quam Dei electionem nulla poteſt creatura reddere irritam. Siquidem ut ſecundem electionem propoſitum Dei maneat, non ex operibus, ſed ex vocante; non ſolùm elegit ſuos, priuſquàm nati ſint, ac boni aut mali quicquam fecerint; ſed antequàm jacerentur fundamenta orbis à conſtitutione mundi. Unde et de apoſtolis Dominus dicebat. Non pro mundo rogo, ſed pro iis rogo, quos dediſti mihi; quia tui ſunt: id eſt, electi abs te ad vitam. Proinde, ut Chriſto nunquam noti ſunt reprobi, ità nunquam ignoti electi: quantunvis, in illis, pietatis ſpecies aliqua adblandiatur; et, in his, inviſa impietatis ſæpe forma conſpiciatur. Eòque, et hi, ſicut prædeſtinati et vocati ſunt, ſic tandem ad imaginem Chriſti reformabuntur: et illi, detractâ perſonâ filiorum Dei factitiâ, ſui ſimiles apparebunt, juxta hoc quod à ſe auditurus hîc teſtatur [Chriſtus]." Bucer. in Matth. vii. 22.— Apud. ejus in ſacr. quartuor Evang. Enarrat. Perpet. pag. 76. b.— Edit. Rob. Steph. 1553.

(*t*) "Non erant ex ovibus Domini; hoc eſt, donatis Chriſto à Patre: non erant ex electis ad vitam. Ineò omni ſpiritu Dei bono carebant: animales toti. Neque potuerant Domino credere, aut ut ſervatorem ipſum amplecti." Bucer. Ibid. in Job. x. 25.

Undoubtedly,

Undoubtedly, becauſe the former are inſpired by the good ſpirit of God, whereas the latter are not inſpired at all.—But whence is it, that the former are indued with the holy ſpirit, and not the latter? For this reaſon: becauſe the former were given to Chriſt, to be ſaved by him; but the latter were not given him. Let us therefore allow God the honour of being the beſtower of his own ſpirit, without ſuppoſing him to need or receive any of our aſſiſtance.—Chriſt adds, And I know them: i. e. they are committed to my truſt; I have them in ſpecial charge. And, doubtleſs, from hence it is, that his ſheep follow him, and live the life which never ends. The Father gave them to him, that he might endue them with life eternal: and they can no more be plucked from Chriſt's hand, than from the hand of the Father, who is mightier and greater than all. Chriſt and the Father are one: their power and ſtrength are the ſame. Conſequently, as none can pluck the elect from the Father's hand, ſo neither from the hand of Chriſt.—We are to obſerve moreover, that it flows only from God's election, that we are the ſheep of Chriſt, and follow him. We muſt obſerve, too, that ſuch can never entirely fall away. For, the Father and the Son being undivided, their hand, that is, their power, muſt be undivided alſo: and, out of their hand, none ſhall ever ſnatch thoſe whom that hand has once laid hold on for ſalvation. Now, unto whomſoever it ſhall be given to hear the voice of Chriſt, and to follow him; they may be ſaid to be thus lain hold on [by the hand, or power, of divine grace]: ſeeing, none but the ſheep are able to hear and follow the Redeemer. And if they are ſheep now, they are ſo held in the hand of Chriſt and of the Father, as never to periſh, but to have eternal life (*u*)."

Bucer

(*u*) "Oves mæ vocem, &c. In his appertè docet [Chriſtus], omnia à divinâ electione pendere; eoſque, quibus ſemel datum fuerit oves eſſe, perire nunquam poſſe. Hîc nanque audimus, eos tantùm

Bucer was alſo a Calviniſt, on the article of limited redemption. He was too well acquainted with the Scriptures, and too accurate a reaſoner, as well as entertained too exalted an idea of the dignity of Chriſt's ſacrifice, to imagine, that the Meſſiah died, at fixes and ſevens, for any body and every body, but effectually for no-body. The learned reformer's ſentiments on this ſubject, appear, among other paſſages, from his pious and judicious paraphraſe on our Lord's anſwer to Peter (Matth. xvi. 23.), which was, ſays Bucer, as if Chriſt had ſaid, "If I am the Meſſiah, I muſt, according to the Scriptures, be ſlain for the elect. If I am the Son of God, why ſhould I not obey my Father, whoſe will it is, that I ſhould be a victim and a ſacrifice for the ſins of all thoſe whom he hath ordained unto life (*x*)?"

tantùm vocem Chriſti audire, id eſt, fidem recipere, qui oves ſunt. Jam unde erit, ut alii, oves, hoc eſt, capaces doctrinæ Chriſti ſunt, alii minimè? Indubiè, quòd illi bono ſpiritu Dei afflati ſunt; hi nequaquam.—Unde autem erit, ut illi ſpiritu donentur, hi ſecùs? Quòd illi filio ſalvandi donati ſunt; hi nequaquam. Domino ergò demus hanc gloriam, ut ipſe ſpiritum det, nihil noſtrâ operâ adjutus.——Dominus ſubjicit, et cognoſco illas; h. e. Curæ mihi ſunt; et hinc certè eſt, ut ipſum oves ſequantur, vitamque vivant quæ finem neſcit. Ipſi illas Pater dediſ, ut eis ſuppeditet vitam æternam: tam igitur non poterunt è manu ejus quàm è patris manu, qui major ĕt potentior omnibus eſt, eripi. Unum ſiquidem ſunt ipſe et pater; eadem eſt utriuſque virtus et potentia. Germanicè, es iſt ein ding der vatur un der ſun. Quarè, ut de manu patris nemo poteſt electos rapere, ità neque de manu Chriſti.—Iterùm obſervandum, à ſolâ Dei electione eſſe, ut oves ſimus, et Chriſtum ſequamur; tùm, tales excidere nunquam poſſe. Quia unum ſunt pater et filius, eandum manum habent, id eſt, potentiam: de quâ, nemo unquam rapiet eos, quos illa ſemel apprehenderit ſalvandos. Apprehenſi autem ſunt, quibuſcunque datum fuerit Chriſti vocem audire et ſequi. Id ſiquidem nulli poſſunt, niſi oves ſint. Si jam oves, in manu Chriſti et patris ſunt, ut nunquam pereant, ſed habeant vitam æ ternam." Bucer Enarr. in Joann. cap. 10. v. 27. p. 277. b.

(*x*) "Si Chriſtus ſum, occidi pro electis debeo, juxta ſcripturas. Si filis Dei, cur non gererem morem patri, qui vult me hoſtiam pro peccatis eſſe omnium quos ille ad vitam ordinavit;" Bucer. Enarr. in Matth. xvi. p. 136. b.

I ſhall

I ſhall only add, concerning this great man, that he died at Cambridge, A. D. 1551; of which melancholy event, good king Edward VI. made the following entry in his journal: "Feb. 28. the learned man Bucerus died at Cambridge; who was, two days after, buried in St. Mary's church, at Cambridge; all the whole Univerſity, with the whole town, bringing him to his grave, to the number of 3000 perſons. Alſo there was an oration of Mr. Haddon, made very eloquently, at his death; and a ſermon of [Dr. Parker]: after that, Maſter Redman made a third ſermon. Which three ſermons made the people wonderfully to lament his death. Laſt of all, all the learned men of the Univerſity made their epitaphs in his praiſe, laying them on his grave (*y*)."

Bucer's death was occaſioned by a complication of diſorders: particularly, the cholic, and the ſtone: *inteſtinorum dolor* (ſays Melch. Ad. p. 220.), *calculus*, *faſtidium ciborum*, *alvi ſiccitas*, *catarrhi copioſi capitis*. During his whole illneſs, that illuſtrious mother in Iſrael, Catharine Brandon, ducheſs dowager of Suffolk, attended him, watched with him, and deigned to undergo the offices and fatigues of a nurſe: in hopes, that Providence might make her the inſtrument of ſaving ſo valuable a life; or, at leaſt, that her generous aſſiduity might conduce to ſoften the laſt agonies of her beloved friend and paſtor (*z*). This was the ſame lady, who, in the ſucceeding reign of Mary, to avoid the reſentment of the Papiſts, was obliged to follow her ſecond huſband, Mr. Richard Bertie, into voluntary baniſhment; where they ſuffered ſuch hardſhips, and run ſuch dangers, as cannot be read without the ſtrongeſt

(*y*) See king Edward's journal of his own reign, p. 20. Annexed to Burnet's Hiſt. Ref. vol. 2.

(*z*) Semper ægrotanti adſedit, et omnia humanitatis officia præſtitit. Melch. Adam. p. 221.

feelings of ſympathetic diſtreſs. On the acceſſion of queen Elizabeth, the religious and noble exiles returned to England; where, many years after, they finiſhed their courſe, in wealth, honour, and felicity (*a*).

Some ſhort time before Bucer's deceaſe, Mr. Jolin Bradford (the celebrated martyr) coming to ſee him, with tears, ſaid, "I am going to preach, and will not fail to remember you in my prayers with the congregation." Bucer devoutly anſwered, weeping, "Caſt me not away, O Lord, in my time of old age, when my ſtrength faileth me!" Immediately on pronouncing which words, he ſeems to have received a freſh and powerful manifeſtation of the divine preſence: for he added, *Caſtiget fortitèr, abjiciet autem nunquam; nunquam abjiciet:* "God may chaſten me greatly, but he'll never caſt me away; no, he'll never caſt me away." Somebody adviſing him to arm himſelf againſt the aſſaults of Satan; he replied, I have nothing to do with Satan: I am only in Chriſt. I ſhould be ſorry indeed, if I did not now experience the ſweeteſt conſolations. Among his laſt words (they ſeem to have been the very laſt) were, with his eyes cheerfully thrown up toward Heaven, *ille, ille regit, & moderatur omnia!* i. e. "he, he reigns, and governs all!" Thus comfortably did this bleſſed ſaint of God expire in the 61ſt year of his age.

Paul Fagius, who accompanied him to this kingdom, and was fixed at Cambridge, in quality of Hebrew Profeſſor, died there, the November preceding: and the famous Tremellius, an Italian Proteſtant, of great piety and learning, and as rooted a Calviniſt as Fagius himſelf, ſucceeded to the Hebrew chair; and was, afterwards, made Prebend of Carliſle (*b*). On the death of king Edward, Tre-

(*a*) See Collin's Peerage, vol. ii. p. 53, 54.—Edit. 1768.
(*b*) See Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. p. 387.

mellius

mellius retired into Germany: and, after ſeveral removes, died at Sedan, in France, A. D. 1580.

In the reign of Queen Mary, the bones of Bucer and Fagius were dug out of their graves, and publicly burned, together with as many of their writings as could be collected.

VI. Peter Martyr, another reformer and luminary of the Church of England, was born at Florence, A. D. 1500. "His family name was Vermilius: but his parents gave him that of Martyr, from one Peter, a martyr, whoſe Church happened to ſtand near their houſe (*c*)." Providence had given him a vaſt capacity: and his acquired learning was prodigious.—The writings of Bucer and Zuinglius were the firſt means of bringing him to the knowledge of the truth.

For ſome time after his converſion, Martyr ſeemed to follow thoſe words of St. Paul too literally, Haſt thou faith? have it to thyſelf before God (Rom. xiv. 22.). But Providence would not ſuffer ſuch a burning and ſhining light to be always under a buſhel. By degrees, God gave him more and more boldneſs; and, at length, called him forth, in the fulneſs of the bleſſings of the goſpel of Chriſt. He preached ſalvation by grace, with the demonſtration of the ſpirit and with power. Many were converted under his miniſtry; ſome of whom proved eminently uſeful in the Church of God: particularly thoſe two illuſtrious divines, Zanchius and Tremellius.

Martyr's courage and ſucceſs ſoon made his native country, Italy, too hot to hold him. Switzerland and Germany afforded him ſafe retreat: till, in the latter end of the (*d*) year 1547, he was invited to England, to help forward the good work of reformation then beginning in this kingdom. Mel-

(*c*) Biog. Dict. vol. viii. p. 263.
(*d*) Melch. Adam. Vit. Theolog. exter. p. 46.

chior Adam, a writer of great accuracy and fidelity, obſerves, that, "On the death of Henry VIII. the young king Edward was reſolved to aboliſh Popery, and to reduce the Engliſh Church to the ſtandard of God's Word, under the auſpices of his uncle, the duke of Somerſet, and of Cranmer, archbiſhop of Canterbury. And, ſince the Univerſities may be conſidered as the nurſeries, in which the clergy of the riſing generation are trained up for the miniſtry; it ſeemed a point of the firſt importance, to reform thoſe nurſeries: that, from them, as from a pure fountain, the ſtreams of ſound doctrine might water every corner of the nation. Now, Peter Martyr being, in the judgment of the moſt learned men, a perſon of ſingular erudition, and of ſuch general knowledge as almoſt ſeemed incredible, he was thought the propereſt divine on earth, to preſide in the divinity chair at Oxford. He was accordingly, with the king's concurrence, invited to England, by the archbiſhop (*e*).—The ſpecimens, which I ſhall ſhortly produce, of the doctrines, with which Dr. Martyr ſeaſoned the minds of the ſtudents that were deſigned for the eſtabliſhed miniſtry, will demonſtrate, that he was indeed one of the "propereſt divines on earth," to be intruſted with that important charge. Would to God, that all his ſucceſſors, in the ſaid chair, had been as "proper" for the taſk, as himſelf.

But there was alſo another reaſon, that induced Cranmer to wiſh for Martyr's ſettlement in England; and which, in concert with the cauſe already aſſigned, lay at the bottom of the invitation. Even old Anthony Wood doth not ſcruple to declare, in expreſs terms, that "in 1547, he [viz. Peter Martyr] was invited into England, by Edward [duke of Somerſet and] lord protector, and Dr. Cranmer, archbiſhop of Canterbury; to the end that his

(*e*) Melch. Adam. u. ſ. p. 40.

aſſiſtance

aſſiſtance might be uſed to carry on a reformation in the church (*f*)." In aſſiſting to carry on which reformation of our church, as alſo in the care and zeal with which he inſtructed the Oxford ſtudents in our church-doctrines; he acquitted himſelf ſo much to the ſatisfaction of the king and the reſt of the reformers here, that he was made a canon of Chriſt-church, and a prebendary of Canterbury. Nay, ſo much was he admired and revered by queen Elizabeth herſelf, that, after ſhe aſcended the throne, "ſhe invited him to return into England, and there to accept of what preferment he pleaſed (*g*):" but, it ſeems, he "modeſtly refuſed" the offer; being fearful, leſt Popery might get the aſcendency in this kingdom again: in which caſe, he might run the riſque of being a martyr in reality, as well as name. He therefore continued at Zurich; where he died in peace, A. D. 1562.——So much for the good man himſelf. Now for his Calviniſm.

(1.) "If," ſays he, "by fate, be meant, a certain power reſulting from the ſtars, and an irreſiſtible implication of cauſes, by which God himſelf is reduced within the bounds of reſtraint; we juſtly reject the word fate, in this ſignification of it. But if by fate, you mean a train of cauſes governed by the will of God; ſuch a fate, as this, can by no means ſeem injurious to true religion, however expedient we may think it to abſtain from uſing the word (*h*)."

He very juſtly obſerves, that the wiſer ſtoics themſelves aſſerted fate, in the Chriſtian ſenſe of the

(*f*) Athen. Oxon. vol. i. col. 106.—Edit. 1691.

(*g*) Wood, u. ſ. col. 107.

(*h*) "Si per fatum intelligant, vim quandam manantem ex aſtris, & connexionem cauſarum inexpugnabilem quâ etiam ipſe Deus cogatur in ordinem; nomen fati non injuriâ repudiabimus. At ſi eo nomine intelligant, ordinem cauſarum, qui Dei voluntate gubernetur; ea res videri non poteſt à pietate aliena: quamvis ab eo nomine judicem abſtinendum, &c."

Pet. Mart. Loc. Com. p. 314.—Edit. 1626.

term. "There are ſome, who dream of an iron or adamantine fatality, impreſſed on the ſtars and natural cauſes, unalterable by God himſelf. This is erroneous; nay, 'tis impious: 'tis even contrary to the judgment of the ancient ſages themſelves; for they plainly declare, that, by fate, they mean no more than the will and providence of the Supreme Being. Witneſs thoſe verſes of Cleanthes the ſtoic:

Father, and king of Heav'n, my footſteps guide!
My wiſh with thy decrees ſhall co-incide.
Too feeble for denial or delay,
I follow where thy purpoſe marks my way.
Were I reluctant, ſtill the chain proceeds;
Fate drags th' unwilling, and the willing leads.
Reſign'd I ſtand, to ſuffer and to do
What muſt be borne and done, reſign'd or no.

now," (continues Peter Martyr), "Though fate is ſtrongly aſſerted, in theſe lines; ſtill, the reins and government of fate are placed in the hand of God: for the philoſopher invokes the Supreme Father, and ſupplicates the guidance of him, whoſe will is affirmed to be certain and infallible (*i*)."

(*i*) "Sunt enim qui ſomnient fatalem quandam neceſſitatem ferream, vel adamantinam, ſideribus & cauſis naturalibus affixam, quam nec Deus immutare poſſit. Quod eſt erroneum, impium, et etiam à veteribus ſapientibus alienum: qui diſertè oſtendunt, ſe, per fatum, intellexiſſe voluntatem et adminiſtrationem divinam. Carmina Cleanthis ſtoïci, quæ de hâc reſcripſit, Seneca, in lib. 18. Epiſt. fecit Latina. Illa verò ſunt hujuſmodi:

Duc me, parens, celſique dominator poli,
Quocunque placuit. Nulla parendi mora eſt.
Adſum impiger. Fac nolle, comitabor gemens.
Ducunt volentem fata; nolentem trahunt:
Maluſque patiar, quod pati licuit bono.

Quamvis, his carminibus, fatum ſtatuatur, ejus tamen gubernatio in manu Dei ponitur; nam invocat ſummum patrem, ab eoque duci cupit: cujus tamen voluntatem ſimulque certam fore, ac infallibilem, demonſtrat." Martyr. Ibid. p. 331.

Nothing

Nothing can be more judicious, than Martyr's reaſoning, relative to the true meaning of that blameleſs fate, which was ſo wiſely and ſo ſolidly aſſerted by the beſt philoſophers of the portico. And our reformer's vindication of that doctrine, as ſettled and aſcertained in the golden verſes which he quotes, is a very concluſive proof of his own candour, good ſenſe, and regard to truth. I wiſh I could have done juſtice to thoſe admirable lines, by tranſlating them better: but, even as I have rendered them, the maxims which they convey, and the implicit ſubmiſſion to Providence, which they inculcate, moſt certainly breathe the very language of Chriſtianity. They expreſs what Milton ſo finely ſings, in thoſe majeſtic words, which he ſuppoſes to be ſpoken by God the Father:

> ——————— Neceſſity and chance
> Approach not me; and what I will is fate (*k*).

The verſes of Cleanthes are cited, by Peter Martyr, as they ſtand in Seneca's tranſlation of them into Latin. Seneca's beautiful lines, are, however, rather a paraphraſe, than a verſion. Cleanthes's prayer ran thus, as cited by Epictetus (*l*):

> Αγε δη με, ω Ζευ, και συ, ἡ Πεπρωμενη,
> Ὁποι ποθ' ὑμιν ειμι διατεταγμενος,
> Ως ἑψομαι σπουδαιος· ηδε κακος.
> Εαν δε μη θελω, ουκ ἡττον ἑψομαι.
>
> Lead me, O Jove, and thou, O fate,
> Where'er your pleaſure has ordain'd:
> I wiſh, with chearfulneſs to meet
> What no reluctance can withſtand.

By Jove, is meant the God and Father of all. By fate, not a power independent on him, or a ſeparate

(*k*) Parad. Loſt, b. vii. 172.
(*l*) Enchir. cap. lxxvii. p. 92.—Edit. Berkel.

deity

deity in joint-commiſſion with him; but his own ſuperintending providence.—When I conſider ſuch exalted ſentiments, as theſe; ſentiments, ſo directly tending to give unto God the honour due to his name, and ſo completely calculated for the general happineſs of man; I ceaſe to wonder at thoſe tributes of high, but juſt encomium on the ancient ſtoics, which have fallen from the pens even of ſome learned Arminians themſelves. Dr. Cave informs us, that, "Of all the ſects of philoſophy, St. Pantænus principally applied himſelf to the ſtoics, with whoſe notions and rules of life he was moſt enamoured. And no wonder," ſays the learned Doctor; "ſeeing, as St. Jerom obſerves, their doctrines, [i. e. the doctrines of the ſtoics], in many things, come neareſt to the doctrines of Chriſtianity. As indeed they do: eſpecially as to the (*m*) moral and practic part of their principles. They held, that nothing was good, but what was juſt and pious; nothing evil, but what was vicious and diſhoneſt: that a bad man could never be happy, nor a good man miſerable: that the Deity was perpetually concerned for human affairs; and that there was a wiſe and powerful Providence, which particularly ſuperintended the happineſs of mankind: that, therefore, this God was, above all things, to be admired, adored, and worſhipped, prayed to, acknowledged, obeyed, praiſed; and that it is the moſt comely and reaſonable thing in the world, that we ſhould univerſally ſubmit to his will, and ἀσπαζεσθαι ἐξ ὅλης της ψυχης τα συμβαινοντα παντα, chearfully embrace, with all our ſouls, all the iſſues and determinations of his Providence: that we ought not to think it

(*m*) Here let me aſk a very natural and reaſonable queſtion. If the Stoics, who believed an abſolute, over-powering fate in all things, were, nevertheleſs, the moſt virtuous and exemplary in their morals, of all the heathen philoſophers; with what decency can it be inſinuated by Arminianiſm, that the Chriſtian doctrine of predeſtination has any degree of tendency to practical ungodlineſs?

enough

enough to be happy alone, but that it is our duty ἀπὸ καρδίας φιλεῖν, to love men from our very heart; to relieve and help them, adviſe and aſſiſt them, and contribute what was in our power to their health and ſafety: and this, not once, or twice, but throughout our whole life; and that unbiaſſedly, without any little deſigns of applauſe or advantage to ourſelves: that nothing ſhould be equally dear to a man, as honeſty and virtue; and that this is the firſt thing he ſhould look at, whether the thing he is going about be good, or bad, and the part of a good or a wicked man; and, if excellent and virtuous, that he ought not to let any loſs or damage, torment, or death itſelf, deter him from it. Whoever runs over the writings of Seneca, Antoninus, Epictetus, Arrian, &c. will find theſe, and a great many more, claiming a very neat kindred with the main rules of life preſcribed in the Chriſtian faith. And what wonder, if Saint Pantænus [or, indeed, every other ſaint] was in love with ſuch generous and manly principles? which he liked ſo well, that as he [viz. St. Pantænus] always retained the title of the Stoic Philoſopher, ſo, for the main, he owned the profeſſion of that ſect, even after his being admitted to eminent offices and employments in the Chriſtian Church (*n*)."

I muſt make two ſhort remarks on this obſervable quotation. 1. We ſee, that, in the judgement of St. Jerom, St. Pantænus, and Dr. Cave himſelf, the main branches of the ſtoical theology and ethics were ſuppoſed to come very near the theology and ethics of Chriſtianity: yea, that there was "a very near kindred" between them. So different was the idea, which thoſe eminent perſons entertained, concerning ſtoiciſm; from the illiterate and ungenerous prejudices, which breed in the boſoms of ſome puny, piddling ſcioliſt among the

(*n*) Cave's Apoſtolici, p. 187.

Arminians,

Arminians, againſt that ancient and reſpectable philoſophy.—2. May not the lives and morals of the ſtoical fatalifts put the generality of free-willers to the bluſh?

One teſtimonial more, and that from a very capable hand, ſhall finiſh this digreſſion. "I cannot but think", ſays the learned and celebrated Mr. Ditton, "that the doctrines of that ſect [meaning the ſtoics] have been much miſrepreſented.—And the truth of it is, that there is, generally ſpeaking, a nearer approach to Chriſtianity, in the morals, diſcipline, and doctrines of that noble ſect, than in thoſe of any other ſect whatſoever (*o*)."

But I willingly return, from even the excellencies of Paganiſm, to the ſchool of Chriſt. Let us now liſten to thoſe precious, ſatisfying truths of the goſpel, which do indeed render the ſoul wiſe unto ſalvation, and, beyond all the exterior diſquiſitions in the world, make glad the city of God.

Peter Martyr, the thread of whoſe teſtimony I now reſume, ſhall ſet before us ſome of thoſe precious truths, pure and genuine as he drew them from the oracles of Scripture.—We have heard his judgement, concerning fate: let us,

(2.) Attend to him on the ſubject of predeſtination.

"Foraſmuch as God worketh all things by his determinate purpoſe, and doth nothing by chance, or accidentally; it is a moſt indubitable axiom, that whatſoever he creates and makes, is deſtined by him to ſome certain end and uſe. Conſequently, neither ungodly men, nor Satan himſelf, nor even ſins themſelves, can be exempted from predeſtination: for, of all theſe, God makes what uſe he pleaſes. Hence, thoſe of the unrighteous, who are devoted to final condemnation, are ſtiled by St. Paul, σκευη,

(*o*) Ditton on the Reſurrection of Chriſt; Append. p. 424.—Edit. 1727.

or

or veſſels, i. e. God's veſſels: veſſels, in whom God makes known his wrath.—Thus it is ſaid, reſpecting Pharaoh, to this very end have I raiſed thee up, that in thee I might diſplay my power. Take the word predeſtination in this extenſive ſenſe, and it reaches to all things: it will import no other, than God's eternal appointment of his creatures to their reſpective uſe (*p*)."

(3.) "We may diſtinguiſh between the knowledge and the fore-knowledge, of God. His knowledge extends not only to every thing paſt, preſent, and future; but even to what ſhall never come to paſs: neither poſſibles, nor impoſſibles, are unknown to him. But his fore-knowledge is converſant with thoſe things only, which are certainly future. God's will is the foundation of his preſcience: for nothing could be future, if God did not will its futurition. Whatever he does not will ſhould come to paſs, he takes care to hinder from coming to paſs. God, therefore, fore-knows a thing, becauſe it was his will and pleaſure, that the thing ſhould exiſt and take place (*q*)."

(*p*) "Quoniam autem Deus omnia deſtinato conſilio facit, nihil caſu, aut fortuitò; procul dubio, quicquid creat et facit, aliqum ad finem & uſum deſtinat. Hâc ratione, nec impii, nec diabolus ipſe, neque peccata, excludi poſſunt à prædeſtinatione: omnibus enim iis rebus Deus utitur, quomodo voluerit. Itaque Paulus impios homines, devotos ad extremam damnationem, appellavit σκευη, hoc eſt, vaſa Dei, quibus iram patefacit.——Et de Pharaone dicitur, in hoc ipſum excitavi te, ut oſtenderem in te potentiam meam. Imò, ſi ità accipiatur prædeſtinatio, erit rebus omnibus communis. Neque aliud iſta vox ſignificabit, quàm Dei, de creatures ſuis, æternam diſpoſitionem ad uſum aliquem ſuum." Martyr, u. ſ. p. 315.

(*q*) "Scire debemus, notitiam Dei latiùs patere, quàm ejus præſcientiam. Nam notitia porrigitur, non tantùm ad præſentia, præterita, & futura; ſed etiam ad ea quæ nunquam futura ſunt, ſive poſſibilia ea ſint, ſive, ut loquuntur, impoſſibilia: præſcientia autem eſt, non niſi de illis quæ futura ſunt. Et idcircò præſcientia requirit voluntatem, quæ præcedat: nihil enim futurum eſt, niſi Deus id eſſe velit: nam alioqui impediret, præſcit ergò Deus ea, quæ vult eſſe futura." Martyr, Ibid. p. 316.

(4.) "Providence

(4.) "Providence is God's well-ordered, fixed, and inceſſant management of all things whatever.—When I ſay, that his providence extends to all things whatever, I advance no more than I am able to prove. And I prove it thus.

"God has a perfect knowledge and comprehenſion of every thing: elſe his wiſdom would be defective. Now the government of this allwiſe being is either unlimited as his knowledge, or partial and confined. If his government be confined and limited, ſuch limitation muſt ariſe, either from want of will, or from want of power. If from want of power, he would ceaſe to be Almighty: if from want of will, he would ceaſe to be all-excellent. But to deny the infinity either of his knowledge, power, or excellence, would be the ſame as to deny that he is God. It remains, therefore, that the ſupreme Being ſuper-intends all things: and this the Scripture, in numberleſs paſſages, moſt expreſsly declares. For it affirms, that the over-ſight of God reaches even to the leaves of the trees, to the hairs of our heads, and to the meaneſt birds of the air (*r*)."—The ſum of this reaſoning is, that to deny the abſolute univerſality of God's inceſſant providence, is neither more nor leſs than plain, direct, palpable Atheiſm.

(*r*) "Obiter ſic definiri poteſt providentia: eſt Dei ordinata, immobilis, & perpetua univerſarum rerum adminiſtratio."
Martyr. Ibid. p. 316.

"Quod diximus, providentiam ad omnia pertinere; id ſic probari poteſt: quia Deum nihil latet; alioqui non eſſet ſapientiſſimus. Quòd ſi omnia novit, vel ea regit omnia, vel multorum curam abjicit. Si quarum rerum curam abjiciat, id idcircò facit, vel quia non poteſt, vel quia non vult, curam earum gerere. Si non poteſt, non eſt potentiſſimus. Si nolit, non eſt optimus. Negare autem Deum ſapientiſſimum, potentiſſimum, optimum eſſe, id eſt planè eum negare eſſe Deum. Superest ergò, ut Deus omnibus rebus provideat: quod Scripturæ infinitis in locis appertiſſimè teſtantur. Docent enim, Dei curam extendi uſque ad arborum folia, uſque ad capillos capitis, uſque ad paſſeres." Mart. Ibid. u. ſ.

"I term

"I term divine providence," ſays he, "the adminiſtration of all things whatever; becauſe nothing can elude its influence: nor, without it, could any thing even continue to exiſt. I term it well-ordered, becauſe it is ſo conjoined with unerring wiſdom, as to preclude all poſſible confuſion and embarraſſment. I term it fixed, or immovable; becauſe the knowledge of the divine adminiſtrator cannot be diſappointed, nor his power defeated: he is equally incapable of miſtake, and of diſconcertment. Moreover, I termed his providence perpetual, or inceſſant; becauſe he himſelf is conſtantly and moſt intimately preſent with the things which he has made. When he created them, he did not leave them to themſelves; but he is, himſelf, within them, as their perpetual principle of motion: for in him we live, and are moved, and do exiſt. Acts xvii. 28.—So much reſpecting providence: to which, and to its correlative articles, fate is nearly allied. I have already obſerved, that, if you ſuppoſe the word fate to ſignify ſuch an inevitable neceſſity as reſults from the influence and poſition of the ſtars; the ancient Chriſtians did, with very juſt reaſon, abſtain from the uſe of the word, in that ſenſe of it. But if it [i. e. if the word fate] mean no more than a ſure concatenation of ſecond cauſes, which is not carried on, either with a blind precipitancy, or with an unmeaning accidentality; but is regulated by the providence of God, and may be varied according to the ſovereign pleaſure of his will;—I can ſee no reaſon, why the thing called fate ſhould, in this view of it, be diſreliſhed or rejected by any man (*s*)."

(5.) I

(*s*) "Eſt hæc adminiſtratio univerſarum rerum. Nulla enim res eam ſubterfugit, nec poteſt, abſque eâ, durare. Dicitur ordinata, quia conjuncta eſt cum ſummâ ſapientiâ, ut nihil admittat confuſionis. Immobilis eſt, quia ſcientia hujus adminiſtratoris non fallitur, nec ejus potentia fruſtrator. Eſt etiam perpetua, quoniam Deus ipſe rebus adeſt. Neque enim, cùm creaſſet res eas ſibi ipſis reliquit;

(5). I ſhall juſt touch on this reformer's doctrine concerning reprobation: requeſting the reader ſtill to bear in mind, that I am not, profeſſedly, delivering my own judgment, but ſimply ſetting before him the judgment of Peter Martyr. According to him, "Reprobation may be defined, that moſt wiſe determination of God, whereby he did, before all eternity, immutably decree, not to have mercy on thoſe, whom he loved not, but paſſed by: and this without any injuſtice on his part (*t*)."

Martyr does not ſcruple to affirm, that "God withholds his grace from [ſome] men: which grace being withheld, thoſe men cannot but fall." He even ventures to add, that, "ſince we all live and move by actuation from God, it is certain, that all the deeds, which we perform, are, of neceſſity, ſome way or other, wrought under a divine impulſe." Yet tho' he expreſſes himſelf with ſuch ſtrength and plainneſs, he will not admit that this doctrine makes God the author of ſin: "There is no need," ſays he, "for God to infuſe additional evil into our hearts. There is enough there already. We have it ſufficiently, of ourſelves: partly, thro' the foulneſs of original ſin; and partly, becauſe a created being doth, of himſelf, degenerate, without meaſure and without end, unleſs he is ſuccoured by

quit; imò ipſe in illis eſt, eaſque perpetuò agitat: in ipſo enim vivimus, & movemur, & ſumus. Tantum de providentiâ. His rebus fatum etiam eſt affine. A quo, ſi accipiatur, ut ſupra diximus, pro neceſſitate quâdam inevitabili quæ à vi aſtrorum pendeat, patres meritò abſtinuerunt. Sed ſi nihil aliud ſignificat quàm certam connexionem cauſarum ſecundarum, quæ non feratur temerè aut fortuitò, ſed Dei providentiâ gubernatur, proque ejus voluntate mutari poſſit non video cur res ipſa debeat à quoquam reſpui." Martyr, ut ſupr.

(*t*) "Sit igitur reprobatio, ſapientiſſimum Dei propoſitum, quo, ante omnem æternitatem, decrevit conſtantèr, abſque ullâ injuſtitiâ, eorum non miſeri, quos non dilexit, ſed præteriit."

Martyr. Ibid. p. 317.

God

God (*u*)."—From hence, we may eaſily anticipate his opinion,

(6.) Concerning free-will. "Paul plainly ſaith, It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that ſheweth mercy. Our ſalvation is the work of God, and not the atchievement of our own ſtrength. For he it is, who worketh in us, both [to will and to accompliſh. Before God thus worketh in us, he has to do [as it were] with ſtones: for our hearts are hearts of ſtone, till Chriſt transforms them into hearts of fleſh (*x*)."

"They who are born again, ought never to forget, that they obtained this freedom, not by their own deſerts, but by the favour of God. It was owing, not to themſelves, but to their heavenly Father, that they were drawn to Chriſt. For unleſs God the Father had inwardly won them over, by main efficacy, they would have ſhunned and avoided Chriſt, even as others (*y*)."

Luther, in his anſwer to Eraſmus, had, after his blunt, but nervoſe manner, compared the human

(*u*) "Deinde Deus eſt, qui gratiam ſuam hominibus ſubducit: quâ ſubſtractâ, neceſſe eſt ut illi labantur. Cùmque illius agitatione omnes & vivamus & moveamur, omnia certè opera quæ facimus, neceſſe eſt, ut, quoquo modo, ejus impulſu fiant. Quanquam nihil opus eſt, ut ab illo nobis infundatur nova malitia. Eam enim, tùm propter labem originis, ſatis abundè habemus ex nobis ipſis: tùm etiam, propterea quòd creatura, ſi à Deo non juvetur, per ſeipſam in deterius vergit ſine modo & fine." Mart. Ibid. p. 317.

(*x*) "Paulus diſſertè ait, non eſt volentis, neque currentis, ſed miſerentis Dei: illius enim opus eſt noſtra ſalus, non virium noſtrarum. Ipſe enim eſt, qui operatur in nobis et velle & perficere. Antequàm id præſtet, ſi quid nobiſcum agat, aut lege, aut doctrinâ verbi, cum lapidibus agit. Corda enim noſtra ſexea ſunt, niſi ea Chriſtus tranſmutet in carnea." Mart. Ibid. p. 109.

(*y*) "Qui ità renati ſunt, nunquam debent obliviſci, ſe hanc libertatem non ſuis meritis adeptos eſſe, ſed beneficio Dei. Is enim eos reſinxit, et, pro corde lapideo, cor carneum in illis poſuit. Denique, non ex ſeipſis, ſed ex patre cœleſti habuerunt, ut ad Chriſtum traherentur. Niſi enim fuiſſent, à Deo patre, magnâ efficaciâ, intus in animo perſuaſi; à Chriſto, non minùs quàm alii, refugiſſent." Mart. Ibid. p. 117.

will to an horſe: "If grace," ſays he, "be in the ſaddle, the will moves to what is good; but man's will, if rid by the Devil, is ſure to ruſh headlong into ſin." This compariſon, unceremonious as it is, was adopted and ſubſcribed to by Peter Martyr; whoſe words are, "Chriſt hath ſaid, ye ſhall then be free, when the Son makes you ſo: from whence it follows, that, ſo long as men are unregenerated, they cannot, with truth, be pronounced free. Beſides, the tyranny of Satan is ſuch, that he detains men in captivity, till they are reſcued by Chriſt: for our Lord has declared, that the ſtrong man armed keeps peaceable poſſeſſion of his palace, and continues maſter of the ſpoils; till one, ſtronger than he, arrives, and diſpoſſeſſes him by force. Likewiſe, in the 2d Epiſtle to Timothy, the apoſtle affirms, that ſuch as oppoſe the truth are kept priſoners by Satan at his will. And it is a well-known illuſtration, that the will of man reſembles an horſe, which ſometimes has grace for his rider, and ſometimes the Devil. Now, perhaps, it is ſet in motion by the former: anon, it is whipp'd and ſpurr'd by the latter. Human liberty, therefore, is cut ſhort by manifold ſlavery. And, ſeeing the freedom of the will is ſo exceeding ſmall, during the preſent ſtate of things, it is wonderful to me, that men do not, with Luther, rather term the will a ſlave and a bond-woman, than free. If a man was ſhut up in priſon, manicled and fettered; could he juſtly call himſelf free, only becauſe he were able to move his head and lift up his eyelids (z)?"—Thus much for free-will.

(7.) Now

(z) "Chriſtus quoque dixit, ſi filius vos liberaverit, tunc liberi eſtis. Unde ſequitor, falſo liberos eſſe homines, quando nondum ſunt renati. Ad hæc omnia, diaboli tyrannis accedit: qui homines, antequam Chriſti ſint, captivos detinet. Chriſtus enim dixit, fortem armatum cuſtodire atrium ſuum in pace, & ſpolia detinere captiva, quoad fortior venerit, qui ea diripiat. Et, in Epiſtolâ ad Timotheum 2, habetur, contradicentes veritati detineri captivos à Satanâ ad

(7.) Now for juſtification. So far was Martyr from ſuppoſing that men are juſtified and accepted of God on account of their works, that there is a ſenſe, in which he would not admit juſtification even by faith itſelf. And very juſtly. For, tho' the grace and principle of faith are of God's giving, and of God's infuſing, yet faith, as acted and exerciſed by us, is attended with extreme imperfection: and we cannot be juſtified, in the ſtrict meaning of the term, by any thing which is defective. Hence the following remark of our judicious reformer: "If faith itſelf be conſidered as our act, 'tis impoſſible we ſhould be juſtified by it: becauſe faith, in this view of it, is lame and imperfect, and falls far ſhort of that completeneſs which the law requires. But we are therefore ſaid to be juſtified by faith, becauſe it is by faith that we lay hold upon, and apply to ourſelves, the promiſes of God and the righteouſneſs and merits of Chriſt. A beggar (we'll ſuppoſe) extends his foul and leprous hand, to receive an alms from a perſon that offers it: certainly it is not from the leproſy and foulneſs of his own hand, that he derives any benefit; but from the donation given, and which he receives with ſuch a hand as he has (*a*)." This ſingle paragraph is ſo full to the point,

ad ejus voluntatem. Et ſatis eſt vulgata ſententia, quæ ait, voluntatem inſtar equi eſſe, quæ modò habeat ſeſſorem ſpiritum Dei & gratiam; modò verò diabolum: & nunc ab eo agitari, nunc verò à gratiâ regi. Eſt igitur libertas ejus multiplicir ſervitute acciſſa: & mirum eſt, cùm tam parva ſit ejus libertas. in hoc præſertim ſtatu, eam potiùs appellari liberam, quàm ſervam. Hæc Lutherus conſiderans, arbitrium potiùs dixit ſervum, quam liberum. Si quis eſſet in carcere, compedibus & manicis conſtrictus; an rectè diceret ſe liberum, quòd poſſet caput movere, aut oculos attollere?"

Mart. Ibid. p. 686.

(*a*) "Quinetiam, ſi fides ipſa, quâ noſtrùm opus eſt, conſideretur; eâ juſtificari non poſſumus: cùm opus ſit et mancum et imperfectum, longè deterius quàm lex requirat. Sed illâ juſtificari dicimur, quia promiſſiones Dei, & Chriſti juſtitiam meritaque, per ipſam apprehendimus, & nobis applicamus. Fingas tibi mendici hominis fœdiſſimam & leproſam manum, quâ capiat eleemoſynam ab offerente:

point, that it ſuperſedes the neceſſity of multiplying quotations on the ſubject in queſtion. Let us hear him,

(8). On the article of perſeverance.

" If we conſult the ſacred writings, we ſhall there find, not only, in general, that God is good and powerful; but likewiſe, that he is good and powerful for our particular benefit" [i. e. for the particular benefit of us who truly believe]: " and that in conſequence of his power and goodneſs, he'll ſo confirm our will, that it ſhall never entirely revolt from him. For he will not ſuffer us to be tempted above what we are able to bear; but will, with the temptation, make a way for our eſcape. He will eſtabliſh you, even unto the end, blameleſs to the day of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. God is faithful, by whom ye are called. Very numerous are the Scripture atteſtations, which promiſe us perſeverance through Chriſt, and the eſtabliſhment of our wills [in holineſs] (*b*)."

So much ſhall ſuffice, at preſent, for Peter Martyr's judgment concerning the points in conteſt.

And let it be further obſerved, that this excellent divine appears to have had ſome hand in drawing up the articles of religion, adopted by the Church of England. Heylyn himſelf confeſſes as much: tho'

offerente: certè, mendicus ille à fœditate ſeu leprâ ſuæ manus haud-quaquam juvatur, ſed eleemoſynâ, quam manu qualicunque accipit." Mart. Ibid. p. 363.

(*b*) " Equidem, ſi conſulamus ſacras literas, non tantùm intelligemus, Deum generalitèr bonum eſſe & potentem: ſed etiam eum nobis ipſis eſſe bonum et propitium [menda, pro potentem]: ideoque confirmaturum noſtram volentatem, ne unquam ab eo deficiat. Nam, ut Paulò ante commemoravimus, non patietur nos tentari ſupra id quod poſſimus ſuſtinere; ſed faciet, cum tantatione, exitum. Et, 1 ad Cor. cap. 1. Confirmabit vos, uſque ad finem, inculpatus in diem Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti. Fidelis enim Deus, per quem vocati eſtis. Sunt præterea alia permulta teſtimonia in ſacris literis, quæ nobis pollicentur & perſeverantiam, & confirmationem voluntatis, per Chriſtum."

Martyr. Ibid. p. 357.

he

he labours, as uſual, to mince and qualify the conceſſion, by every diminiſhing quirk, in his power to apply. I can compare him to nothing, but to a miſer, who, forced, againſt the grain, to pay a ſum of money, counts it out, with grudging reluctance, and draws it back again and again, 'till obliged to part with it indeed. Heylyn's words are theſe: "Though Peter Martyr lived to ſee the death of king Edward, and conſequently the end of the convocation, Anno 1552, in which the articles of religion were firſt compoſed and agreed on; yet there was little uſe made of him in adviſing, and much leſs in directing any thing, which concerned that buſineſs,——tho' ſome uſe might be made of him as a labourer to advance the work (*c*)."

There are teſtimonies of Martyr's orthodoxy and uſefulneſs ſtill in reſerve; able, if need required, to enlarge theſe gleanings into an harveſt. But I muſt not diſmiſs this great reformer and ornament of our church, without obſerving, that he and Bucer were the principal inſtruments of perſuading Dr. Hooper into a compliance (as far as he did comply) with king Edward's reformation, reſpecting ſome matters of exterior ceremony: which (however indifferent thoſe matters were in their own nature) became important, becauſe adopted by the church, and enforced by the ſtate.

Few readers need to be informed, that, when Hooper was nominated to the ſee of Glouceſter, he entertained ſome unhappy ſcruples, more nice than neceſſary, concerning the form of the epiſcopal habit. He ſuppoſed, that the robes, in which a biſhop was expected to appear, ſavoured more of ſuperſtition and Popiſh pomp, than comported with the ſcriptural ſimplicity of Proteſtantiſm. Amazing, that a perſon of Hooper's learning, piety, and

(*c*) Heylyn's Miſcell. Tracts, p. 587.

exalted ſenſe, could look for Popery, in the fold of a garment; and extract ſuperſtition, out of an angular cap! Groundleſs, however, and ill-timed, as his ſcruples were, they had ſuch weight with himſelf, that he refuſed to be conſecrated after the uſual mode, and even ſuffered himſelf to be impriſoned in the Fleet, for his contempt of legal authority. But I muſt alſo do him the juſtice to add, that he lived long enough, to ſee the weakneſs and abſurdity of oppoſing things which the law of God has left indifferent. The ſeverities of Mary's reign taught the honeſt, but over-ſcrupulous biſhop, that Popery conſiſted in ſomething more than a robe, a ſcarf, or a four-cornered cap.

While Hooper's obſtinacy continued, Bucer and Martyr took all imaginable pains to ſolve his objections, and, if poſſible, reduce him to conformity. They gained on him ſo far, that he conſented to wear the uſual habit on ſome principal occaſions. One of Martyr's letters to him may be ſeen at full length, in an Appendix to (*d*) that edition of his Common Places, which has ſupplied me with the preceding extracts. It is written with ſuch modeſty, learning, candour, and force of reaſon, as are a ſtanding honour to the writer, and demonſtrate that his attachment to the Church of England extended to her rites, as well as her doctrines.

The letter itſelf being very long, I ſhall only give the ſubſtance of Martyr's arguments, in Mr. Rolt's judicious abridgement of them. "He commended Hooper, for his pains in preaching; but adviſed him, not to exert his zeal on points that are indefenſible, or things of little moment, leſt the people ſhould from thence be led to call in queſtion the judgment of the reformed preachers, and give no credit to what they delivered on the moſt important articles.——In anſwer to one objection of Hooper's,

(*d*) Viz. the Edition of 1626.—p. 761, 762, and part of 763.

that

that we ought to have an expreſs warrant from Scripture for every thing belonging to religion; Martyr told him, that, if the general rules of order were obſerved, the governors of the church had a diſcretionary latitude in little matters. Thus, for inſtance, our receiving the communion in a church, in a forenoon, not in a reclining poſture, [nor] in a congregation [conſiſting] of men only; ſtood upon no other than eccleſiaſtical, that is, upon human authority: to which [nevertheleſs], he preſumed, Hooper had always ſubmitted without any ſcruple. He told him, further, that it would be difficult to produce any warrant, from the New Teſtament, for ſinging Pſalms in public worſhip. And that the Chriſtian church, from the beginning, had a regard, in many particulars, to the Jewiſh polity: eſpecially, in the great feſtivals of Eaſter and Whitſunday. Suppoſing, what he [Martyr] could not grant, that the epiſcopal habit and veſtments had been introduced into the church by the ſee of Rome; yet he did not think the contagion of Popery ſo very malignant, as to carry infection into every thing which it touched. That to govern by ſuch narrow maxims, would lay an inconvenient reſtraint on the church of God: and that our anceſtors moved much more freely, who made no difficulty of turning heathen temples into Chriſtian churches; and of tranſlating, to pious uſes, the revenues [once] ſacred to idolatry. (*e*)." ——Had Martyr's coolneſs and moderation been univerſally prevalent in the Proteſtant world, how much vain wrangling and party-diviſion would it have prevented!

Bucer was no leſs aſſiduous, than Martyr, in reſpectfully combating the pertinacity of Hooper. They united in aſſuring him. "That, in the buſineſs of religious rites, they were for keeping as

(*e*) See Rolt's Lives of the Reformers, p. 115.

cloſe as poſſible to the holy Scriptures, and to the moſt uncorrupt ages of the church: but, however, they could not go ſo far, as to believe, that the ſubſtance of religion was affected by the clothes we wear; and they thought things of this nature altogether indifferent, and left to our liberty by the word of God (*f*)."—Thus, it inconteſtably appears, that theſe two learned Calviniſts, Bucer and Martyr, were church of England men, not in word and tongue only, but in deed and in truth.

Before I conclude this Section, I beg leave to ſubjoin an obſervation, that would more properly have fallen under the immediate article of Bucer; but which, tho' omitted in its due place, is too important to the deſign of this undertaking, to be entirely paſſed over. It has been affirmed (and what is there, which ſome Arminians will not affirm?) that Bucer held the doctrine of juſtification by works, and believed human obedience to be meritorious in the ſight of God.

That he was once of this opinion, is not at all wonderful, when we conſider that he was born and educated in the boſom of the Romiſh church, with whom the tenet of legal juſtification is a fundamental principle. And, for a conſiderable time after God had called him out of Papal darkneſs, his improvements in divine knowledge were progreſſive. His ſpiritual growth reſembled the gradual vegetation of an oak; not the rapid proſiliency of a muſhroom. Bucer ſeems to have expreſſed himſelf the moſt incautiouſly, in the diſputation at Leipſic, A. D.

(*f*) Rolt, Ibid. p. 96.—N. B. Two of Bucer's letters, viz. One to Hooper, and the other to A. Laſco, both in vindication of the received modes, are extant in Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. Appendix, from p. 118 to p. 132. The whole letter to A. Laſco was (ſays Mr. Strype, p. 225.) "tranſlated into Engliſh, and ſet forth, not far from the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, for the uſe of the church, that then was exerciſed afreſh with the ſame controverſy."

1539;

1539; yet, even then, he roundly declared, that "thoſe good works, to which ſo great a reward is given, are themſelves the gifts of God (*g*)." And that paſſage, which Voſſius quotes from Bucer, falls extremely ſhort of proving that the latter was, even at the early period in which he penned it, an aſſertor of juſtification by performances of our own. Impartiality obliges me to ſubjoin that celebrated paſſage, which ſo many Arminians and merit-mongers have ſince caught at, as if it made for the Popiſh doctrine of juſtification. "I cannot but wiſh," ſaid Bucer, in the year 1529, "a more ſound judgment to ſome perſons, who have diſturbed many in this our age with this paradox, that we are ſaved by faith only: tho' they ſaw the thing was carried ſo far, as to confine righteouſneſs only to the opinion of the mind, and excluding good works. Where is their charity, who refuſe to cure this evil, by one word or two? It is only to ſay, that, when faith is formed, we are juſtified; and that, through faith, we obtain a diſpoſition to good works, and, conſequently, a righteouſneſs: or, that faith is the foundation and root of a righteous life, as Auguſtin ſaid (*h*)." Is there a ſingle ſentence, in this paragraph, to which the ſtricteſt Calviniſt would not conſent? Obſerve the order, in which Bucer arranges faith, juſtification, and obedience. Faith goes before; juſtification follows faith; and practical obedience follows juſtification: we firſt believe; we no ſooner believe, than we are juſtified; and the faith, which juſtifies, diſpoſes us to the after-performance of good works: or, in other words, juſtifying faith "is the root and foundation of a righteous life." Says not every Calviniſt the ſame?

As Bucer advanced in years and experience, he learned to expreſs his idea of juſtification with ſtill greater clearneſs and preciſion, than he had done on

(*g*) Rolt, Ibid. p. 88. (*h*) Rolt, p. 88.

ſome

ſome paſt occaſions. Finding that the enemies of grace had greedily lain hold of ſome inadvertent phraſes, and taken ungenerous advantage of ſome well-meant conceſſions, which he had made, before his evangelical light was at the full; he deemed it neceſſary, to retract ſuch of his poſitions as countenanced the merit of works; and to place juſtification on the ſcriptural baſis of the Father's gratuitous goodneſs, and the Son's imputed righteouſneſs: ſtill, however, taking care to inculcate, that the faith, by which we receive the grace of God and the righteouſneſs of Chriſt, is the certain ſource of all good works. For being thus honeſt to his convictions, he was loaded, by his adverſaries, with accumulated ſlander and reproach. How modeſtly and forcibly he vindicated his conduct, may be judged from the following paſſage: "The Lord," ſays Bucer, "has given me to underſtand ſome places [of Scripture] more fully than I formerly did: which, as it is ſo bountifully given to me, why ſhould I not impart it liberally to my brethren, and ingenuouſly declare the goodneſs of the Lord? What inconſiſtency is there, in profiting in the work of ſalvation? And who, in this age, or in the laſt, has treated of the Scripture, and has not experienced, that, even in this ſtudy, one day is the ſcholar of another (*i*)?"

Indeed, no ſtronger proof need be given, of Bucer's ſoundneſs in the article of juſtification, than the rapture and admiration with which he mentions the Engliſh book of Homilies. "No ſooner," ſays Mr. Strype, "were the homilies compoſed, and ſent abroad; but the news thereof (and the book itſelf, as it ſeemed, already tranſlated into Latin) came to Straſburgh, among the Proteſtants there: where it cauſed great rejoicing. And Bucer, one of the chief miniſters there, wrote a gratulatory epiſtle

(*i*) Rolt, p. 89.

hereupon

hereupon to the Church of England, in November, 1547: which was printed the year after. Therein that learned and moderate man ſhewed, how theſe pious ſermons were come among them, wherein the people were ſo godlily and effectually exhorted to the reading of the Holy Scriptures; and faith was ſo well explained, whereby we become Chriſtians; and juſtification, whereby we are ſaved; and the other chief heads of Chriſtian religion ſo ſoundly handled. And therefore, as he added, theſe foundations being rightly laid, there could nothing be wanting in our Churches, requiſite towards the building hereupon ſound doctrine and diſcipline. He commended much the Homily of Faith, the nature and force of which was ſo clearly and ſoberly diſcuſſed; and wherein it was ſo well diſtinguiſhed from the faith that was dead. He much approved of the manner of treating concerning the miſery and death we are all lapſed into, by the ſin of our firſt parent; and how we are reſcued from this perdition, only by the grace of God, and by the merit and reſurrection of his Son (*k*)."

No wonder, that this excellent man was, ſoon after, called into England, to aſſiſt in perfecting that reformation, whoſe beginnings he ſo heartily approved. When here, vaſt deference was paid to his judgment and advice, by Cranmer and the other Proteſtant biſhops. This is confeſſed, even by Burnet himſelf; whoſe words are, "About the end of this year (1550), or the beginning of the next, there was a review made of the Common-Prayer Book.——Martin Bucer was conſulted in it: and Aleſſe tranſlated it into Latin for his [i. e. for Bucer's] uſe. Upon which, Bucer writ his opinion; which he finiſhed the 5th of January in the year following:—And, almoſt in every particular, the moſt material things, which Bucer excepted to,

(*k*) Strype's Memorials Eccleſiaſtical, vol, ii. p. 31, 32.

were

were corrected afterwards (*l*)." This acknowledgement of biſhop Burnet's confirms what is delivered by Guthrie: who, in his Engliſh Hiſtory, obſerves, concerning Bucer and Peter Martyr, that their authority was great in England (*m*)."

SECTION XV.

Of the Share, which Calvin *had, in the Reformation of the Church of* England.

TO what has been already obſerved, concerning our principal reformers, a word or two muſt be added, relative to that grand ornament of the Proteſtant world, Dr. John Calvin. It has been furiouſly affirmed, by more than one Arminian, that Calvin had not the leaſt hand, directly or indirectly, in any part of our Engliſh reformation. Old Heylyn plays to this tune: "Our firſt reformers had no reſpect of Calvin (*n*)." And again: they "had no regard to Luther or Calvin, in the procedure of their work (*o*)." To Heylyn's pipe, dances Mr. Samuel Downes; with the ſame reverential glee, as poor Wat Sellon ſqueaks to the quavers of Mr. John Weſley. Let us, however, examine for ourſelves, and attend to facts. Mr. Rolt informs us, from Guthrie, that Bucer's "remonſtrances, together with thoſe of Martyr and Calvin, prevailed with archbiſhop Cranmer, and the other prelates of the reformation, to ſuffer it [i. e. to ſuffer the

(*l*) Burnet's Hiſt. of Reformat. vol. ii. p. 147, 148.
(*m*) See Rolt, p. 115.
(*n*) Peter Heylyn's Hiſtoric. & Miſcell. Tracts, p. 548.
(*o*) Heylyn's Life of Laud, Introd. p. 3.

liturgy]

liturgy] to be reviſed and corrected (*p*)." Such an acknowledgment, from an hiſtorian of Guthrie's principles, muſt have deciſive weight with every rational enquirer.

So muſt the teſtimony that follows. "Calvin adviſed Bucer how to conduct himſelf before king Edward VI. He [i. e. Calvin] correſponded with the duke of Somerſet" (who was the king's uncle, protector of the realm, and, in concert with Cranmer, the main inſtrument in conducting the reformation) "and gave him his opinion how the reformation ſhould be carried on. In one of his [i. e. of Calvin's] letters to the lord protector, he expreſſed his diſlike of praying for the dead.—Calvin, in his epiſtolary correſpondence with the protector, was inſtrumental, not only in puſhing ſome ſeverity againſt the Papiſts, but in ſome advances towards bringing the Church of England to a nearer conformity with the Churches abroad, where the worſhip was more plain (*q*)." The Church, therefore, ſtood indebted for part of her purity and ſimplicity, to the diſcreet and friendly offices of this moſt eminent divine, "whoſe deciſions," as an elegant modern hiſtorian truly obſerves, "were received among the Proteſtants of that age, with incredible ſubmiſſion (*r*)."

Even biſhop Burnet takes ſome notice of Calvin's correſpondence with Somerſet. "Calvin writ to the protector, on the 29th of October (1548), encouraging him to go on, notwithſtanding the wars, as Hezechias had done, in his reformation. He [i. e. Calvin] lamented the heats of ſome that profeſſed the goſpel: but complained, that he heard there were few lively ſermons heard in England, and that the preachers recited their diſcourſes coldly. He much approves a ſet form of prayers, whereby

(*p*) Rolt's Lives of the Reformers, p. 116.
(*q*) Rolt, ibid, p. 134.
(*r*) Robertſon's Hiſt. of Scotland, vol. i. p. 249. octavo.

the

the conſent of all the Churches did more manifeſtly appear. But he adviſes a more complete reformation. He taxed the prayers for the dead, the uſe of chriſm, and extreme unction, ſince they were no where recommended in Scripture. He (Calvin) had heard, that the reaſon why they (the Engliſh reformers) went no further, was, becauſe the times could not bear it: but this was to do the work of God by political maxims; which, though they ought to take place in other things, yet ſhould not be followed in matters, in which the ſalvation of ſouls was concerned. But, above all things, Calvin complained of the great impieties and vices, that were ſo common in England; as ſwearing, drinking, and uncleanneſs: and prayed him (the lord protector) earneſtly, that theſe things might be looked after (*s*)."

Calvin did not remonſtrate in vain. The communion office underwent a farther reform, in 1550: as did the whole liturgy, in 1551; when among many other alterations, the chriſm in baptiſm, the unction of the ſick, and prayers for the dead, were totally expunged (*t*).

(*s*) Burnet's Reform. vol. ii. p. 83.——Dr. Fuller gives a much more ſatisfactory abſtract from Calvin's letter, than does his lordſhip of Sarum. "Maſter Calvin," ſays Fuller, "is therein very poſitive for a ſet form: whoſe words deſerve our tranſlation and obſervation. Formulam precum [ſaith Calvin], et rituum eccleſiaſticorum, valde probo, ut certa illa exſtet; à quâ ne paſtoribus diſedere in functione ſuâ liceat: 1. Ut conſulatur quorundam ſimplicitati & imperitiæ. 2. Ut certiùs conſtet omnium inter ſe eccleſiarum conſenſus. 3. Ut obviam ineatur deſultoriæ quorundam levitati, qui novationes quaſdam affectant. Sic igitur ſtatum eſſe catechiſmum oportet, ſtatam ſacramentorum adminiſtrationem, publicam item precum formulam. That is: I do highly approve that there ſhould be a certain form of prayer, and eccleſiaſtical rites; from which it ſhould not be lawful for the paſtors themſelves to diſcede. 1. That proviſion may be made for ſome people's ignorance and unſkilfulneſs. 2 That the conſent of all the churches among themſelves may the more plainly appear. 3. That order may be taken againſt the unſettled levity of ſuch as delight in innovations. Thus there ought to be an eſtabliſhed catechiſm, an eſtabliſhed adminiſtration of ſacraments, as alſo a public form of prayer." Fuller's Church Hiſt. book vii. p. 426.

(*t*) See Strype, Burnet, Downes, &c. ſub annis 1550 & 1551.

That

That the reaſonings and repreſentations of Calvin had great influence on the protector, and on the conduct of eccleſiaſtical affairs in England, is evident, amidſt a multiplicity of additional proofs that might be offered, from what is obſerved by the candid and learned Mr. Hickman: than whom, no perſon, perhaps, was better acquainted with the religious hiſtory of this kingdom. "Bucer, at Cambridge," ſays that excellent writer, "underſtood that Calvin's letters prevailed much with Somerſet: and therefore intreats Calvin, when he did write to the protector, to admoniſh him not to ſuffer the churches to be left void of preachers (*u*)."

Heylyn himſelf, in his Hiſtory of the Reformation, virtually contradicts what he elſewhere delivers, concerning the "no-reſpect" which, he would have us believe, was ſhewn to Calvin. Speaking of king Edward's firſt liturgy, he ſays, "And here the buſineſs might have reſted," [i. e. the liturgy would not have been reviewed and reformed] "if Calvin's pragmatical ſpirit had not interpoſed (*w*)." The conceſſion is important, tho' maliciouſly expreſſed: for, what is this, but allowing, that the Church of England was obliged to "Calvin's interpoſition," for her deliverance from the alb, the cope, the introits, the exorciſm, the trine immerſion, the unction, prayers for ſouls departed, &c. which were all retained by the firſt liturgy? Surely, if Heylyn's complaint be juſtly founded, that "if Calvin's pragmatical ſpirit had not interpoſed," the firſt liturgy might have ſtood as it did; it will follow, 1. That the Proteſtant religion in England is under the higheſt obligations to Calvin, for his ſucceſsful

(*u*) Hickman's Animadverſ. on Heylyn, p. 149.

(*w*) Heylyn's Hiſt. of the Reform. Pref. p. 3.—Mr. Whiſton, likewiſe, honeſtly confeſſes, that king Edward's firſt liturgy was "then" [i. e. in the year 1551] "plainly altered out of human prudence, and out of compliance with Calvin and other foreigners." Whiſton's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 423.

zeal,

zeal, in occaſioning all this rubbiſh to be wheeled away: and, 2. That Heylyn himſelf, by whom this very circumſtance is affirmed, was guilty of a moſt palpable deviation from truth, in aſſerting, elſewhere, that "Calvin offered his aſſiſtance to our reformers, and that his interpoſition was refuſed (*x*)."

(*x*) See Heylyn's Quinquart. Hiſt. Ch. viii. ſ. 2. Miſc. Tr. p. 548. And yet this very Heylyn, in the very next page but one, ſays, that the firſt liturgy, "being diſliked by Calvin, was brought under a review." Ibid. p. 550.

THE END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.